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Growth and the Triangle

Reinventing Atlanta

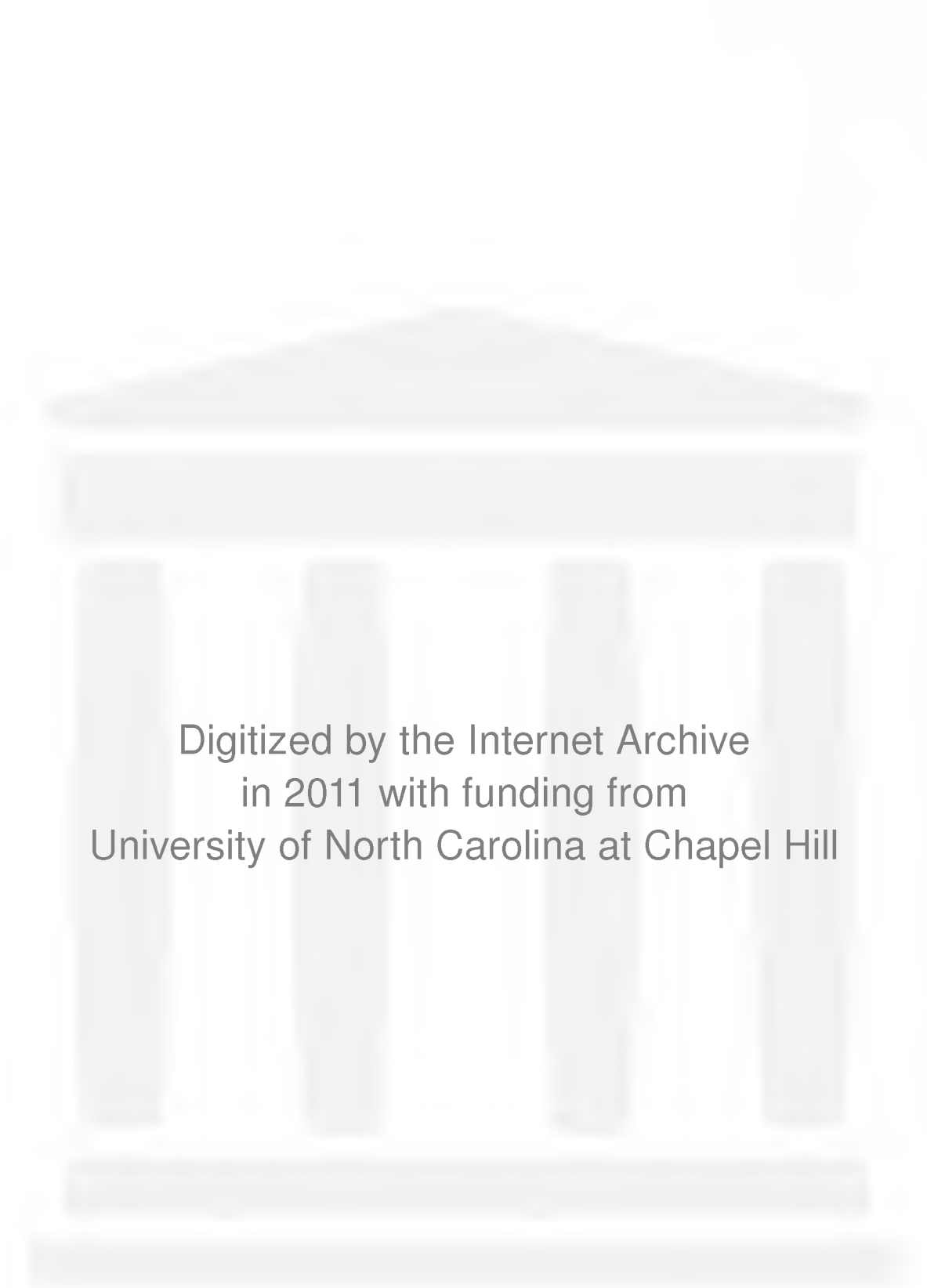
Planning for Sustainable Development

Segregation and Spatial Suicide

Economy and Environment in the Mountains

the planning journal of the southeast

Summer 1998



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Carolina Planning

the planning journal of the southeast

Summer 1998
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cp notes	**Tools and Technology; Things to Do**	3
articles	**Growth and the Triangle: Exploring Future Development Patterns** *John Hodges-Copple and Benjamin Hitchings*	5
	Panacea or Fools' Gold? Reinventing Downtown Atlanta after the Olympics *David Versel*	9
	Building Assets and Economic Independence Through Individual Development Accounts *Carl Rist*	23
	How Are We Doing? A Look at the Practice of Planning for Sustainable Development *Maria Manta and Philip R. Berke*	29
	Economic Revitalization and Resource Protection in Rural Mountain Communities *Mikki Sager, Craig White and Kathleen Marks*	41
interview	**Residential Segregation and Spatial Suicide** *George Galster on Racism and Housing*	49

Carolina Planning is a student-run publication of the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

From the Editors:

This *Carolina Planning* tackles a wide range of issues, from downtown redevelopment and affordable housing to growth management, economic development and environmental preservation. As always, we have tried to balance the perspective of the academy with that of practicing planners. With each issue, we are reminded that the two frequently intersect on our pages. For example, our feature interview with Wayne State (Michigan) Professor of Urban Affairs George Galster reflects both Galster's extensive research into the economics of residential racism and his work in our nation's cities. We will continue to make *Carolina Planning* a home for such interdisciplinary work.

The big change in this issue of *Carolina Planning* is our new look. As you will see, we have updated CP's style to be clearer and more readable. Planning Digest has undergone renewal and emerged as CP Notes. We have introduced sections within CP Notes, including "Tools and Technology" and "Things to Do." Tools and Technology highlights information resources of use to planners, including web addresses for the Internet-savvy. Things to Do gives you an excuse or two to get out of the office by keeping you posted about upcoming conferences, lectures, and other ways to explore this field of planning. Of course, we gladly welcome submissions to either of these departments, as well as articles, reviews, interviews and viewpoints for our fall issue.

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CP NOTES

Tools and Technology

From Chapel Hill to your computer: students bring economic development resource to the World Wide Web

Graduate students in the Department of City and Regional Planning at UNC-Chapel Hill have have prepared a valuable economic development resource available on the World Wide Web. The website contains information on many topics of interest to those involved with economic development, as well as more general planning activities. Examples of the topics include brownfields, research parks, micro-enterprise programs and small business assistance, business incubators, technology transfer, enterprise and empowerment zones, military base closures, industry targeting/ clusters, and location incentives. The website contains background information on each specific topic, as well as relevant literature citations and links to related Internet sites. This web page can be accessed at:

http://www.unc.edu/depts/dcrpweb/courses/261/261.htm

Things to Do

Engaging Planning History

Allison Isenberg writes:

Since current policies have long roots, many urban planners have a strong interest in history. If New Urbanism, for example, makes constant reference to the "traditional" planning ideas of the early 20th century and John Nolen, it is useful to know what those references mean. If you are working with a merchant association to dismantle a 35-year-old pedestrian mall, you might ask why the concept was so popular in the early 1960s and why business people supported pedestrian malls in the first place. In working for a housing agency, you might need to know about the evolution of a neighborhood under redevelopment, as well as the historical assumptions that underpin the financing programs you use.

In the later 1990s, planning history is booming, both in the United States and internationally. The 8th International Planning History Conference, "The Twentieth Century Urban Planning Experience," will be held this summer at the University of New South Wales in Sydney, Australia. Details of the program can be found at **www.fbe.unsw.edu.au/events/1998/planhist/**.

The United States planning history organization, the Society for American and Regional Planning History (SACRPH), draws its membership from academic and practicing planners, historians, architects, and others in allied fields. Known for its lively biennial conferences, SACRPH is currently planning its fall 1999 meeting in Washington, D.C., and will distribute the call for papers in November 1998. Because of the Washington locations, one of the themes will be the links between planning history and contemporary policy.

The Society also publishes a semi-annual journal, *Planning History Studies*, and gives awards (accompanied by cash prizes) for

outstanding books and papers in the field of planning history. Individual memberships cost $35, while the cost for students in $15. Direct inquires to: SACRPH, Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Virginia Commonwealth University, 816 West Franklin Street, Box 842504, Richmond, Virginia 23284-2504, (804) 828-7533.

Alison Insenberg, a board member of SACRPH, is an Assistant Professor in the History Department at UNC-Chapel Hill. She is writing a book on downtown investment in the twentieth century.

Urbanism at the end of the century: spring symposium to discuss new and traditional urbanism

The annual Weiss Urban Livability Symposium grant has been awarded to Charles C. Bohl, a doctoral candidate in City and Regional Planning at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The symposium's theme will be "Traditional Urbanism Reconsidered: Traditional Urbanism, New Urbanism, and Urban Livability at the Fin de Siecle."

The symposium will present a unique, end-of-the-century opportunity to reflect back on what traditional urbanism was; to consider the contemporary relevance of traditional urban forms as more sustainable, livable alternatives to sprawl; and to ponder the future of urbanism in a world where the importance of propinquity and a sense of place are increasingly challenged by technological advances, globalism, and the commodification of urban places.

The symposium will be convened as a series of events in the spring of 1999. Planning is underway and a schedule of events will be available by the end of the summer. A call for papers may be issued. Those interested in submitting papers or learning more about the symposium should contact Bohl by phone at (919) 942-6485, or by email at cbohl@email.unc.edu.

Submissions for CPNotes should be sent care of the Editors to:

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Chapel Hill, NC 27599-3140

Growth and the Triangle: Exploring Future Development Patterns

John Hodges-Copple and Benjamin Hitchings

John Hodges-Copple is Director of Regional Planning and **Benjamin Hitchings** is Senior Planner at the Triangle J Council of Governments. Both have Masters degrees from the Department of City and Regional Planning from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Triangle J COG is providing staff support on the Regional Development Choices Project under contract with the Greater Triangle Regional Council.

Editors' Note: The North Carolina Sierra Club and its Triangle-region groups have begun a Smart Growth campaign to encourage new ways of thinking about development. For information or to volunteer, contact: Ellen Ruina (Orange-Chatham group) eruina@juno.com, 929-8330; Ed Harrison (Headwaters group-Durham County) ed.harrison@sierraclub.org, 490-1566; Bob Wasson (Capitol group-Wake County) wasson@pipeline.com, 876-5368.

Few demographers would ever confuse the Research Triangle with the Bermuda Triangle. While people tend to disappear in the Bermuda Triangle, an average of 74 new residents arrive each day in the Research Triangle Region. 600,000 more are expected over the next 25 years. To spark a substantive discussion of how the Triangle might grow over the next generation, a regional leadership organization called the Greater Triangle Regional Council launched the Regional Development Choices Project in 1996. This initiative outlines three ways the region could grow and describes the implications of each alternative for life in the region.

In the process, the project takes on several classic planning challenges, including: engaging a large public audience; helping them make the connection between regional development patterns and the quality of life in their individual neighborhoods; enabling them to envision alternative futures; and involving them in a meaningful way in shaping the development of their region. The first step in this process for the Greater Triangle Regional Council was to co-host a World Class Region conference with the Triangle J Council of Governments (TJCOG) in April of 1998.

The 1998 World Class Region Conference

Two previous regional conferences were held in 1987 and 1992 respectively and led to the development of such organizations as the Triangle Transit Authority, the World Trade Center, and the Greater Triangle Regional Council. The most recent conference was devoted entirely to the issue of regional growth. 600 residents from across the region participated in the event, including numerous leaders from government, the business community, area universities, and civic organizations.

A variety of formats were used to present information and engage the audience. The program included:

- A 25-minute video produced by WRAL TV on the history of development in the Triangle since World War II and the current growth issues facing the region

- A 3-D virtual reality video developed by the Research Triangle Institute showing how land near the Raleigh-Durham Airport might develop under different scenarios
- A presentation by Jonathan Howes, Director of University Outreach for the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, explaining a series of photographic visualizations of how different urban and rural sites in the Triangle might look if developed under different scenarios
- A panel discussion featuring five leaders from across the Triangle including: Richard Williams, Vice President of Business & Community Relations for Duke Power; Roger Perry, President of East-West Partners; Bill Holman, Assistant Secretary of the North Carolina Department of Environment and Natural Resources; Tom Fetzer, Mayor of Raleigh; and Ellen Reckhow, Vice Chair of the Durham County Board of Commissioners and Chair of the Triangle Transit Authority
- A Town Hall meeting moderated by David Crabtree, news anchor for WRAL TV, in which the audience posed questions to the panel
- A short segment in the opening video and a series of printed case studies through which the audience learned what some other regions in North America are doing to address growth issues
- A lunch presentation by William Hudnut, former mayor of Indianapolis, former U.S. congressman from Indiana, and resident scholar at the Urban Land Institute, who talked about the importance of regional cooperation.

The centerpiece of the conference, however, was a presentation by Smedes York, president of York Properties and former mayor of Raleigh, describing three alternative scenarios of how the region might develop over the next generation.

Three Alternative Development Scenarios

A scenario is a description of how things might be in the future. Development pattern scenarios paint different pictures of how our region might be a generation from now. They are not forecasts, which describe what is expected to happen. And they are not plans, which describe what should happen. Scenarios describe what could happen.

The starting points for developing the scenarios were four prominent development challenges for the region identified by the Greater Triangle Regional Council:

1. Keeping the region a diverse "community of communities";
2. Ensuring mobility;
3. Sustaining a green environment; and
4. Promoting economic opportunity for the region's people.

Three regional development pattern scenarios were created to illustrate different ways of addressing these challenges:

Scenario 1

The Current Development Pattern is characterized by homes, workplaces, and shops that are separated from one another and dispersed across the region's landscape. The pattern is largely determined by current market forces and the decisions of individual landowners and local jurisdictions. Mobility relies heavily on automobile travel. Conserving open space and natural areas depends on the independent actions of towns, cities, counties, non-profit groups, and state and federal agencies.

Scenario 2

A Compact Neighborhoods & Greenspace pattern focuses some development into more compact neighborhoods, combining different activities in closer proximity. Many of these neighborhoods are oriented along high-quality transit corridors, with transit service becoming

Growing by Leaps and Bounds

- From 1960 to 1990, the population of Region J (Chatham, Durham, Wake, Johnston, Lee and Orange Counties) grew by 96%, from approximately 440,000 to 863,000.[i]
- In this decade, an average of 74 new residents have moved into the Reserch Triangle metropolitan statistical area each day.[i]
- From 1970 to 1998, the town of Cary grew from 7,430 to 85,000.[i]
- The Census-defined urbanized area grew 3.6 times faster than the population from 1950-1990.[i]
- An additional 600,000 residents are expected to move into the region by 2020. To envision this, imagine adding another Raleigh, Durham, Chapel Hill, and Cary to the region.[ii]
- Wake County is expected to need an additional 21 elementary schools, 13 middle schools, and 10 high schools by 2010. The student population at that time is projected to approach 130,000.[iii]

i. *US Census*
ii. *North Carolina Office of State Planning*
iii. *Wake County Planning Department*

a more viable option for travel, although auto travel remains the only option in many areas. A regional network of green space that expands the amount of land conserved for parks and natural areas is created.

Scenario 3

An Activity Centers & Countryside pattern incorporates three vibrant activity centers in addition to the compact neighborhoods of the second scenario. Like Scenario 2, it includes a web of open space. This scenario adds a regional effort to create a clearer distinction between urban and rural areas. A greater share of new development is guided into a more compact regional form so that urban services can be provided more efficiently and the rural character of much of the region can be retained for future generations. A more extensive regional transit system is created, with rail service provided to many of the region's smaller towns. Some currently envisioned highway projects are changed or omitted.

In a survey distributed at the conference, participants rated the second scenario the highest, followed closely by the third scenario and more distantly by the first scenario. When asked which issues they were most concerned about as the Triangle grows, respondents overwhelmingly cited transportation, followed by environmental quality and schools.

Phase II: Community Outreach

The Regional Development Choices Project is now entering its second phase, a public outreach and analysis effort. Over the next year, the three scenarios will be presented to citizens across the Triangle to help them understand the choices the region faces and solicit their input. A combination of self-administered video presentations and town hall meetings will be used along with an interactive web site to carry out this work. In addition, a more detailed analysis of the social, economic, and environmental impacts will be conducted on the scenarios to provide better information about their differing implications for life in the region. Feedback from the outreach effort will be used to craft a preferred regional development scenario that could provide the basis for more coordinated regional land use planning.

The challenge is to build meaningful regional cooperation in a framework that depends on the voluntary participation of local governments. New communication and visualization technologies like the ones employed in this project can assist in this process. By working together, communities throughout the region may succeed in growing on their own terms.

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Panacea or Fools' Gold? Reinventing Downtown Atlanta After the Olympics

David Versel

Atlanta has long been a city that placed more emphasis on boosting its image than on confronting its day-to-day concerns. Beginning in the early 1980s with then-Mayor Andrew Young's efforts to transform Atlanta into an international city, Atlantans have worked to construct the necessary improvements and facilities to achieve Young's goal. These efforts culminated with their hosting of the Olympics in 1996.

There is no doubt that, as a result of the Olympics, the city of Atlanta is now known worldwide. However, now that the Olympics are over, the "boosters" who were so instrumental in cultivating an international image of Atlanta have begun to acknowledge that developing that image was only the first step in the process of Atlanta's emergence as a worldwide hub. As Georgia State University President Carl Patton observed, "To be a truly international city, Atlanta cannot roll up its sidewalks at sundown." With concerns like Patton's in mind, the most pressing planning issue facing post-Olympic Atlanta has become the transformation of its downtown from an office and hotel district into a 24-hour environment in which people reside, work, and play.

The centerpiece of this transformation into a 24-hour community is Centennial Olympic Park. Although Centennial Olympic Park was envisioned for this purpose during the pre-Olympic period, few permanent developments were realized at that time. Today, the only permanent Olympic-inspired projects downtown are either small loft and/or retail developments in existing buildings or larger apartment developments further away from the Park. Although these projects are demonstrating signs of generating around-the-clock activity downtown, the area surrounding the Park is still largely undeveloped.

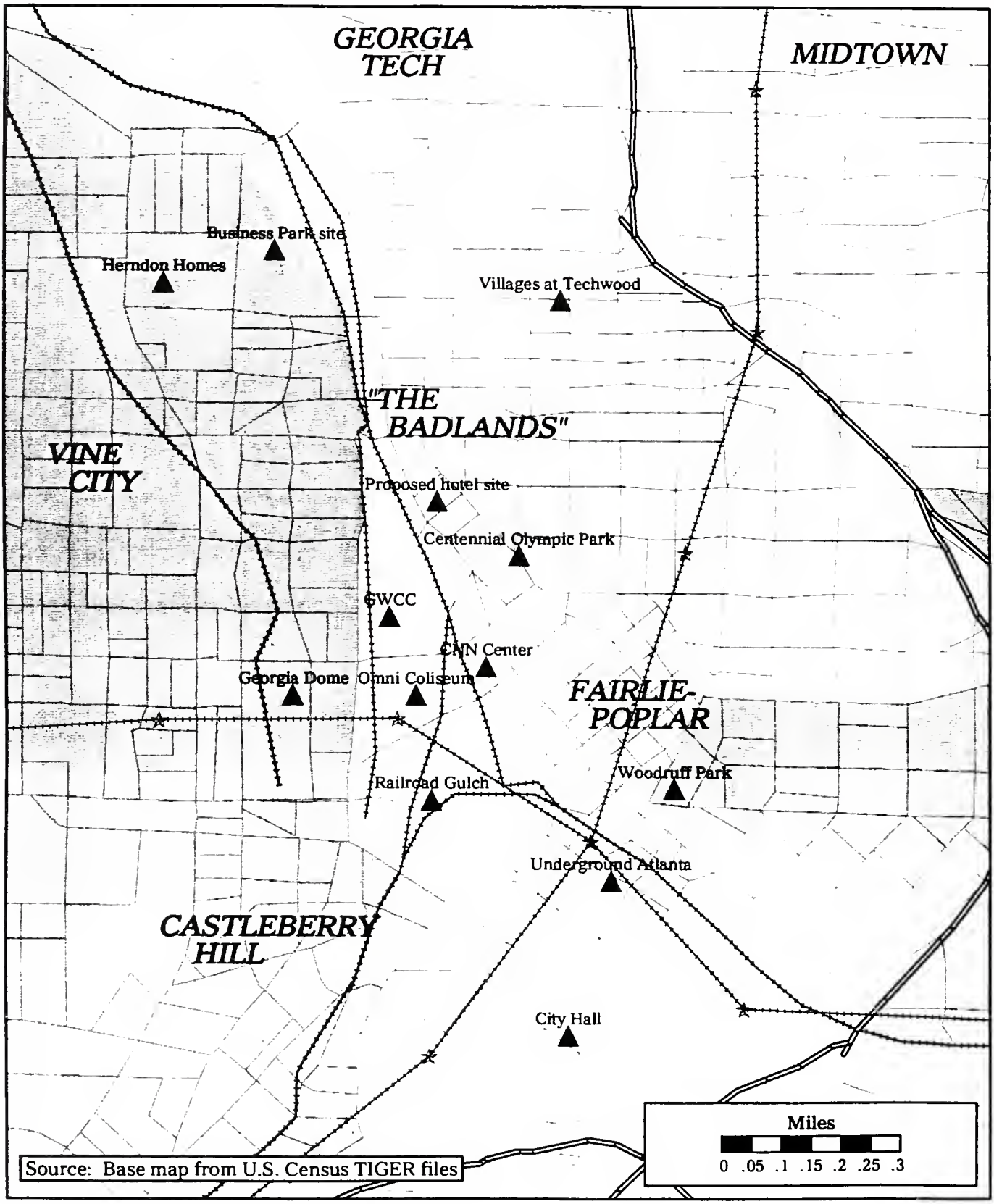
Since the end of the Olympics, there have been a variety of proposals for developments directly adjacent to Centennial Park. The projects under consideration include at least two large-scale housing/retail developments, an expansive business park, a new hotel to serve the Georgia World Congress Center, and an entertainment district adjacent to a new sports arena. Of these, only two projects are under way at this time: the construction of the sports arena, which began in the summer of 1997, and the Doubletree Hotel, which broke ground in early 1998. A considerable amount of pressure is

David Versel wrote an expanded version of this paper as his "Option Paper" while earning his Masters Degree in City Planning from the Georgia Institute of Technology in 1997. He is now employed as an associate consultant with Haddow & Company, an Atlanta real estate consulting firm, where he helped create a housing action plan for COPA, Inc.

Editors' Note: In our Spring, 1996, issue, Atlanta's Commissioner of Planning and Development Leon S. Eplan wrote that the then-impending Olympics had motivated the city to prepare for its future through planning. In this article, Versel considers downtown Atlanta's progress since the Olympics.

Fig. 1

Central Atlanta



being placed on the new arena to transform the area since it will be the first large, permanent, post-Olympic project to be realized in the immediate environs of Centennial Olympic Park.

This article is an evaluation of the prospects for Atlanta's new downtown sports arena in light of the city's goals for around-the-clock life in the Centennial Olympic Park area. Following an examination of historic development patterns around the arena site, this article assesses the potential for success of the arena project in light of the issues that confront downtown development. It specifically discusses four areas of concern for urban planners: development economics, politics, equity, and urban design. The ultimate goal of the analysis is to determine whether or not this project can fulfill the promise of its image.

The Laws of Stadium Economics

Ostensibly, there are two reasons for building a new sports arena in downtown Atlanta: first, to prevent the Atlanta Hawks basketball team from moving to the suburbs or to another city; second, to provide an attractive home for Atlanta's National Hockey League expansion franchise, the Thrashers. Although the Omni Coliseum served adequately as the home of the Hawks, and was the home of the Knights and Flames hockey teams, it could never generate the same revenue that a newer facility would. In order for professional indoor sports to continue to thrive in Atlanta, the teams needed a venue that obeyed the laws of "stadium economics."

Stadium economics is the primary force behind the nationwide spurt of new sports facilities construction in recent years. The guiding principle of stadium economics is this: if a stadium or arena is not making enough money, it should be replaced by a modern facility that contains the attributes necessary to generate more revenue (Forsyth 1995:13C). The cornerstone attribute of the new, "economically correct" sports facility is the corporate skybox, which commands a sizable annual fee from its tenant. In addition, food and beverage services at sports facilities have evolved from fast-food operations to full-service food kiosks with diverse and high-quality menus. Similarly, T-shirt stands have been transformed into retail stores complete with full lines of clothing and memorabilia. Nearly all new stadia and arenas constructed in the 1990s contain these features.

With such profit-inducing amenities in mind, cities like Cleveland, St. Louis, and Washington, D.C., have replaced their outdated (and in these three cases, suburban) arenas with new, state-of-the-art facilities. Even Miami is constructing a new arena, since the existing Miami Arena (which was built in the mid-1980s) lacks many amenities now considered standard in new facilities.

It is generally accepted that sports arenas and stadia do not usually have significant effects on local economies, since they create only modest increases in jobs and tax revenue. As a result, a city looking to build a new facility must consider whether or not it is worthwhile to spend money on an investment that will likely generate only a small direct return. Economist Mark Rosentraub suggests that it is a choice that must be made by each city as a reflection of its values (26). Atlanta has already demonstrated its willingness to spend money in the short term in order to improve the city's stock of sports facilities, although these are expected to be entirely financed in the long term through gate revenues and the rental car tax.

Clearly, Atlantans believe, in the words of economist Roger Noll, that "Our psychic investment in sports is disproportionate to its economic importance to a city" (Forsyth 1995:13C). Thus, in their efforts to maintain Atlanta's status as an international center for sports, and, more important, to continue the flow of investment into the city's professional sports industry, residents demonstrated their belief that their city needed to bow to the laws of

stadium economics and replace its 25-year-old arena.

Striking a Deal

When the Hawks first announced their desire to vacate the Omni in 1994, there was public speculation that instead of waiting for the City of Atlanta to build a new downtown facility, they would move to a site in the suburbs. In this debate, the city found itself at a disadvantage from the beginning, as the Hawks declared that they would be willing to construct a privately-financed arena in the suburbs, but they would only stay downtown only if their new home was publicly financed.

A downtown arena would come under the jurisdiction of the Atlanta-Fulton County Recreation Authority, which draws its tax base from both the city and county. Fulton County made it clear from the outset that it would not support the project if any additional burden was placed on its taxpayers. Thus, if the Hawks were to remain downtown, not only would they require public financing, they would need a deal which guaranteed no public debt to the taxpayers of Atlanta and Fulton County. In 1995, an agreement was reached among the Hawks, the city of Atlanta, Fulton County, and the Recreation Authority to construct a new downtown arena and a variety of surrounding public improvements. The plan called for the building to be financed with revenue from its events and for the public improvements to be financed with a three-percent increase in the rental car tax at Atlanta's Hartsfield Airport.

The next issue was to pick a specific site for the new arena. Four different sites were mentioned, but only two were ever seriously considered: 1) the site of the existing Omni, which would be torn down; and 2) the "railroad gulch" between Techwood Drive and Forsyth Street, which separates the Omni/Georgia Dome/Georgia World Congress Center (GWCC) complex from Five Points and Underground Atlanta (see *Figure 1*).

These two sites were considered mostly due to the fact that Turner Broadcasting Systems, Inc., which owns both the Hawks and Thrashers, had a strong interest in building the new arena immediately adjacent to its offices in the CNN Center. However, Turner and Norfolk Southern Corp., the owner of the railroad gulch, failed to reach an agreement on the land price of the gulch. In November of 1996, Turner and the City of Atlanta agreed to build the new arena on the site of the Omni Coliseum. The Omni was demolished in the summer of 1997, and the new arena will open on its former site in the fall of 1999.

Great Expectations

The new arena has generated a high level of excitement among downtown supporters. Their expectations have put tremendous pressure on the project to kick-start the process of turning the area surrounding Centennial Park from a blighted wasteland into a booming urban neighborhood. Unfortunately, there are a number of factors which suggest that the new stadium will not be able to achieve this purpose single-handedly. First among these is the fact that there already had been an arena downtown. The new arena will be slightly larger than the Omni, but it will still only draw crowds for the same events that previously occurred at the Omni. The arena itself will not significantly increase the amount of people downtown. In fact, fewer people are coming downtown during the construction period, especially since the Knights moved to Quebec City in 1996 and the Hawks currently play one-third of their games outside downtown at Georgia Tech (the remainder are at the Georgia Dome). This trend could derail the momentum of downtown activity that was generated by the Olympics.

Second, the arena is a one-shot project. Even though Turner, the city of Atlanta, and its designers conceive of the facility as an urban design project, not just a building project, it still

is a singular gesture which is not yet part of a larger design scheme for its environment. In order for the arena and its accompanying improvements to truly be successful, it will need to go beyond just drawing crowds indoors, and take the necessary steps to promote access to other downtown destinations.

A third factor poses the most difficult obstacle, and it is one that will require a high level of coordination among planners, politicians, urban designers, developers, and economic development interests. Land prices in downtown Atlanta have become quite inflated since the early 1990s, making most development very risky. Since the arena possesses the blessing of being partially financed by the rental car tax, its risk was mitigated. However, for any other developers, the barrier of land cost is a reality, and until it is lifted, very little will likely occur in the area.

Atlanta has shifted its efforts from planning a party for the whole world to making its downtown into a worthy centerpiece for the world's new great city.

If the city of Atlanta were willing to use the tools at its disposal, it would be possible to reconcile a portion of the difference between the land prices desired by developers and the prices commanded by land owners in the area. In fact, this section of the city is located within the target areas for three different economic development programs: 1) a Federal Empowerment Zone; 2) a state of Georgia Urban Enterprise Zone and; 3) a city of Atlanta tax-increment financing (TIF) district. As a result of the first two programs, the city is in the enviable position of being able to provide tax breaks for private developers. Additionally, the TIF program allows the city to exert a greater level of control over the development of the area, since it can direct development by constructing public improvements without incurring any further debt to its taxpayers. With this arsenal of incentives, the city should be able to expedite the process of developing the Centennial Olympic Park area. Unfortunately, the city has not yet demonstrated a commitment to taking advantage of these resources.

Reinventing the Badlands

Now that the Centennial Olympic Games have come and gone, Atlanta has shifted its efforts from planning a party for the whole world to making its downtown into a worthy centerpiece for the world's new great city. As indicated earlier, these efforts begin and end with the desire to create a 24-hour city. In its quest to reinvent itself through the expansion of downtown housing, retail space, and nightlife, there was really only one direction downtown Atlanta could go: west. To the north is Midtown, which has already become, in the words of Charles Rutheiser, "a petrified forest of postmodern residential and office towers" (1996:125). To the east and south the concrete canyons of Interstates 75/85 and 20 restrict downtown's expansion (see *Figure 1*). The only room for growth is to the west of downtown.

The west side of downtown has long been a downtrodden zone commonly known as "the Badlands." Atlanta's desire to rebuild this area is long-standing: a variety of ideas to remake it have been on the drawing boards of architects and developers for nearly 30 years. Even so, as the Olympics loomed on the horizon in the early 1990s, the Badlands remained. Its proximity to the Olympic venues at the Omni/Georgia Dome/GWCC complex and Georgia Tech made it imperative that something be done to improve the area by 1996. The result was Centennial Olympic Park.

Occupying 21 acres in the southwest corner of the Badlands, Centennial Olympic Park is the largest public open space in

downtown Atlanta. However, the Park is not quite as public as it may seem. Due to the Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games' (ACOG) mandate to use no tax money in its efforts, the park was financed by the GWCC Authority, a quasi-public organization that reports to the state of Georgia, rather than the city. As a result, the GWCC, not the city, controls the park. The GWCC has already expressed its desire to use the park for private convention-related activities.

Although the merits of constructing an urban park from the ashes of a blighted, but not quite empty, area can be debated, this issue has passed. The challenge of making this grand new park a useful and active feature of downtown Atlanta still lies ahead. Even at this early stage, however, it is evident that the public interest in developing the areas adjacent to the Park is not receiving primary consideration. This is illustrated by the first development to follow in the arena's footsteps.

Seemingly out of nowhere, developer Legacy Properties International submitted a proposal to the city of Atlanta in May, 1997. This proposal seemed like the miracle that downtown Atlanta had been seeking: an $88 million hotel/office/retail/ residential complex to be built on five acres adjacent to Centennial Olympic Park, directly across Marietta Street from the GWCC (see *Figure 1*). Legacy asked the city to designate its property as an Enterprise Zone, which would save the developer an estimated $2.5 million in property taxes over a 5-year period.

Downtown miracle or not, the designation of the site as an Enterprise Zone would have serious negative impacts on other aspects of the public interest. The project was slated to include a luxury hotel, upscale condominiums, and high-end retail shops--hardly uses one would expect to find in an Enterprise Zone. The only concession to the public interest made by Legacy was an amendment to the proposal, which required that 20% of housing units be "affordable." Furthermore, the waiving of property taxes for this project would be detrimental to the TIF program, since the success of TIFs depends on the generation of new tax revenue.

Unlike the complex rules for the basketball and hockey games that will take place in the new arena, the game of "Reinventing the Badlands" has but two rules to govern its play: create a 24-hour downtown and spare no expense to do it.

Even with all of these concerns on the table, the Atlanta City Council voted to approve Legacy's request. This action demonstrated a remarkable short-sightedness about the uses and purposes of an Enterprise Zone. The council also exhibited a poor attitude toward the balance between development and equity. Fortunately, as often happens in Atlanta, development activity was controlled by private interests acting more responsibly than the city. This situation is outlined below.

Let the Games Begin . . . Eventually

To play any game, one needs a playing field, players, the proper equipment, and a set of rules. In downtown Atlanta, the game of "Reinventing The Badlands" is under way. The playing field is the area around Centennial Olympic Park. On the sidelines are a whole lineup of players armed with land, money, financing incentives, regulations, and, most of all, big plans. However, unlike the complex rules for the basketball and hockey games that will take place in the new arena, this game has but two rules to govern its play: create a 24-hour downtown and spare no expense to do it.

The role of the referee is being filled by Centennial Olympic Park Area, Inc. (COPA). COPA is an offspring of Central Atlanta Progress, Inc. (CAP), Atlanta's downtown business organization, which, as the preeminent representative of downtown boosters, has a strong interest in the park area. COPA is a non-profit organization that was created just before the Olympics in 1996 with the self-described purpose of "facilitating development" in the areas around Centennial Olympic Park. In late 1996, COPA blew the starting whistle on the development game and has kept a watchful eye for development activity on the west side of downtown. However, the dearth of post-Olympic building activity in COPA's domain is evidence that the players have been slow to take the field.

COPA does acknowledge that there are currently a number of major obstacles to development in its target area. High land prices and a skeptical real estate market represent imposing problems. Even so, COPA, like the downtown boosters it represents, remains confident because of the new sports arena. COPA President Ken Bleakly believes that now that land owners, investors, developers, and city officials have begun to see the dirt moving for the new arena, they will start taking the necessary steps to spur development around the arena and the park. In the meantime, COPA is trying to prepare the land around the park for the coming deluge of development. The question is, when will this deluge be coming?

Opening the Door

COPA believes it can help spur development by bridging the gap between land prices sought by landowners and revenues sought by developers. Currently, potential developers are not even amicable to projects with TIF incentives because they feel that land prices remain too high for development to be profitable. COPA has in mind another use of financial incentives to spur development. It wants to create a business park in the Badlands.

The northwest piece of COPA's study area contains a large stock of run-down and abandoned industrial, commercial, and residential structures, and is notorious for its active drug trade. It also contains Herndon Homes, a public housing project that was renovated as part of the city's efforts to improve its public housing before the Olympics. This area is important to COPA because it is in both an Empowerment Zone and an Enterprise Zone. As such, businesses that locate in this area would be eligible to receive the tax credits and other benefits of these two programs. COPA has identified this site as a potential business park that would employ and provide vocational training for residents of Herndon Homes as well as the adjacent communities of Vine City and English Avenue.

Development of the business park is crucial to the success of COPA's efforts to revitalize the area for four reasons:

- It would pump much-needed revenue into the TIF district.
- It would clean up an area adjacent to downtown Atlanta that is notorious for drug traffic.
- The developer of the park would be unlikely to back out of the project, since doing so would create problems with potential businesses and the surrounding residents. As a result, the city would incur less of a risk in issuing TIF bonds for infrastructure improvements for this project than it would for other projects.
- The surrounding low-income neighborhoods stand to benefit from the increased access to new jobs.

One measure of COPA's interest in the business park project is that it has expressed a willingness to develop the property itself if no

private developer is willing to do so. Since COPA possesses the resources of CAP and its member corporations, it could theoretically take this risk.

COPA, not the city of Atlanta, has taken the lead on downtown development. In fact, the only action the city has taken has been to extend Enterprise Zone benefits to a project that does not match the intended purpose of those benefits. While the city has done little to create a coherent vision for the area around Centennial Olympic Park, COPA has attempted to formulate a comprehensive strategy for developing this area. The elected officials of the city of Atlanta are turning their backs on the poor and disadvantaged among their constituency while COPA, a private organization, is making an effort to integrate job creation for Atlanta's underclass into its development strategy.

An Island in the Urban Archipelago

Even if COPA does succeed in delivering investment dollars to downtown Atlanta, the urban design of the area will remain to be addressed. The following section explores the development history of the west side of downtown in order to give the reader a sense of the area's urban context.

The growth of downtown Atlanta during the 1960s and 1970s centered around a variety of interiorized mixed-use complexes. Beginning with the first and largest, architect/developer John Portman's Peachtree Center, downtown Atlanta absorbed a vast amount of programmed space contained in a disjointed network of mini-cities during that era. The second in line was the Omni complex, which was first conceived by developer Tom Cousins in the late 1960s. Due to the proposed location of the complex on the western fringes of downtown, Cousins's grand vision was met with skepticism by lenders. To prove the viability of this area, Cousins built an enormous parking deck on the east side of Techwood Drive, between Marietta Street and the railroad gulch. This structure, simply called "The Decks," proved very successful. With one profitable venture on the west side of downtown under his belt, Cousins was ready to forge ahead with the construction of his own island in Atlanta's urban archipelago: Omni International Atlanta, now known as CNN Center.

Downtown boosters picked up on Cousins's grand scheme for Omni International, quickly labeling the development "Atlanta's Rockefeller Center." From a standpoint of pure functionality, this assertion was accurate. Like Rockefeller Center, Omni International was a private development containing a dense concentration of office, retail, and entertainment space, including a central ice skating rink. However, the success of Rockefeller Center as a public gathering space has as much to do with its urban orientation as its actual function. Jane Jacobs notes:

> Imagine [Rockefeller Center] without its extra north-south street, Rockefeller Plaza. If the center's buildings were continuous along each of its side streets all the way from Fifth to Sixth Avenue, it would no longer be a center of use. It could not be. It would be a group of self-isolated streets pooling only at Fifth and Sixth Avenues. (1961:237)

In contrast to Rockefeller Center's superb integration into the grid of Manhattan, Omni International was the penultimate expression of what Rem Koolhaas has termed "Bigness." Koolhaas writes: "Bigness no longer needs the city: it competes with the city; it represents the city; or better still, it is the city" (1995:515). As a truly "Big" building, Omni International was, by design, its own city. It ended downtown Atlanta's grid and defined its own territory, separate from the rest of the city.

In addition to eschewing the city grid, Omni International also shuns its fronting streets and sidewalks. This inward orientation speaks of the fact that Cousins delegated the development of the building to Alpert Investment Corp., a mall developer. Alpert thought of Omni International as a mall, with anchors at either end, which gave its architects little opportunity to address the exterior of the building. This predictably resulted in the building's fortress-like appearance. While Omni International contains all of the elements of Rockefeller Center, its inward urban orientation precludes it from being like Rockefeller Center. However, given the obvious differences between the privatized interiors of downtown Atlanta and the very public streets and plazas of midtown Manhattan, perhaps the "Atlanta's Rockefeller Center" label is accurate: it was the closest approximation Atlanta could achieve.

To cap off the Omni's dismal first decade, the Flames packed up and moved to Calgary in 1979, leaving the arena empty for an additional 40 nights each year. By the end of the 1970s, it was clear that Omni International was an heroic failure.

The History of an Heroic Failure

The Omni definitely was a creature of its time: an imposing, futuristic structure tucked beneath street level and surrounded by a concrete plaza. Since MARTA, Atlanta's heavy-rail system, did not yet exist, nearly everyone attending events at the Omni drove. Access to parking was the prime objective of the building's urban strategy.

The Omni Coliseum, which opened on October 14, 1972, was the first piece of the Omni International complex to be completed. Both professional sports teams who called the Omni home, the Hawks and the Flames, were partially owned by Tom Cousins, who clearly felt that building a sports arena was a key to realizing his urban vision. Omni International opened in 1976 to a great deal of hype. Although its premier attractions, including movie theaters, the ice skating rink, and The World of Sid and Marty Krofft indoor amusement park, generated interest, the excitement proved short-lived. The amusement park lasted through its first summer then went out of business once the children of Atlanta went back to school. The crowds drawn by the movie theater and skating rink tended to spend their money on those attractions and go home without patronizing the Omni's shops and restaurants.

The failure of the retail and entertainment elements of Omni International was matched by high vacancy rates in its office spaces. The Omni was never able to attract a large anchor tenant, and during the down years of the real estate market in the late 1970s, Atlanta's entire office market took a major hit.

The Omni remained dormant until 1987, when Turner Broadcasting System, Inc. acquired the building to house its Cable News Network (CNN) and renamed it CNN Center. Omni International was good for Turner because it had vast amounts of empty space left behind by the failed theme park, as well as acres of vacant office suites. Turner had also recently become majority owner of the Hawks, which made locating adjacent to the Omni Coliseum even more desirable for the company.

The 1980s also saw the construction of two more massive facilities adjacent to the Omni: the Georgia World Congress Center in 1985; and the Georgia Dome, which was begun in 1989 and opened in 1991 as the home of the Atlanta Falcons of the National Football League (see *Figure 1*). In the 1990s, the Olympics inspired the construction of a green plaza atop the GWCC/Dome parking deck, which

transformed the once moribund space into an attractive, well-lit park. Unfortunately, this plaza is still very isolated and lacks day-to-day activity. Even so, its presence affords the opportunity for the GWCC, the Dome, and the new arena to be better connected to one another and to the rest of downtown Atlanta.

After twenty-five years of construction and expansion, the Omni/Dome/GWCC mega-complex is firmly established as the anchor of the western edge of downtown Atlanta. It has been home to teams in three of the four major professional team sports. It has hosted countless concerts and conventions. It has even served as a venue for the Olympic Games. However, it is an interiorized complex, not an active part of downtown Atlanta.

Prescribing the Panacea

In order to fulfill the high hopes for downtown Atlanta generated by the Olympics, the arena that will replace the Omni Coliseum will need to reach beyond the boundaries of its complex to generate activity downtown. Given the arena's central location and its substantial allocation for public improvements, the arena could easily strengthen its connections with both the other buildings in the complex and the rest of downtown.

In fact, the way in which the arena engages its surroundings will go a long way toward determining the influence of the project on downtown as a whole. In discussing how special activity generators like arenas can affect their surroundings, Kent Robertson proposes the following design objectives: to provide spillover benefits to local businesses; to stimulate new construction; and to revitalize a blighted area (1995:433). The proposed design connectors in this case are pedestrian paths and walkways. While these features can improve the area's visual environment, the success of the arena depends more on what happens along and at the ends of these connectors.

Turner and the city of Atlanta assembled an all-star squad of architectural designers to create the new arena. The overall urban strategy and design of the building's exterior is being prepared by Arquitectonica, a Miami firm noted for its "Miami Vice" aesthetic. The interior elements that are unique to sports facilities are the responsibility of Hellmuth, Obata, and Kassabaum (HOK). HOK's Sport Facility Group has established itself as a world leader in sports design with its urban baseball palaces in Baltimore and Cleveland. The major public improvements around the new arena are being handled by Rosser International, a prominent Atlanta firm. The idea behind the assembly of this "dream team" is that the combination of Arquitectonica's creativity, HOK's expertise in sports facilities, and Rosser's knowledge of downtown Atlanta will generate an exciting venue that engages its surroundings and becomes the sort of activity generator of which Robertson speaks.

Assembling the Pieces

The future of downtown lies before Atlanta like a box of building blocks dumped on the floor. Nowhere is this more evident than in the plan prepared for COPA by the Urban Land Institute (ULI). This plan matches the various proposed uses for the Centennial Olympic Park area with actual locations. It sites sports and entertainment (including the new arena) to the south of the Park, an expansion of the GWCC to the southwest, an entertainment/commercial district to the east, residential development to the north, and the business park to the northwest.

COPA clearly knows what it wants the elements of its project area to be, a fact that is evident from the bold lines drawn on its plan. However, a more striking feature of the plan is that the proscribed boundaries of each use are not contiguous. In fact, there is at least a one-block gap separating each programmed use in

the project area. As a result, the ULI plan reads less like an urban redevelopment strategy than a plan for suburban mixed-use development. Assuming that COPA is able to attract development in the short term, it faces a long-term challenge of making these islands of development into a unified urban neighborhood.

As difficult as it will be to start development in the isolated manner that the ULI has suggested, connecting these pieces will be an even greater challenge for reasons that return to the issues of development economics, equity, and urban design. From the development standpoint, the challenge centers on the fact that the Centennial Olympic Park area is not a greenfield site. Land acquisition will be an expensive and tricky proposition. Almost any project that could be built around the edges of the programmed areas of the plan would require the extra expense and hassle of demolishing or re-using existing buildings. On the plus side, by the time any project might be built outside the proposed boundaries, the city's available TIF money supply should be sufficient to help developers overcome the costs of developing land that is not vacant.

The potential application of TIF money for this purpose again raises the issue of equity. As with the land that was acquired and cleared for the construction of Centennial Olympic Park, much of the property surrounding the park contains old, run-down structures. Although developers and COPA dismiss these blocks as blighted and underdeveloped, they are still in use. COPA has proposed redeveloping the entire landscape around the Herndon Homes public housing project as part of its business park, apparently forgetting that "blighted" does not necessarily mean "vacant."

Kennedy Street, which forms the northern boundary of Herndon Homes, contains a collection of run-down commercial buildings that are in active use by the residents of public housing. COPA has proposed razing this entire block and replacing it with 70 housing units, which would replace a portion of Herndon Homes that was condemned in 1995 after the city discovered that the site was environmentally unsafe. While this transformation would undoubtedly make the street more aesthetically attractive to both residents and future tenants of the business park, it would remove the basic commercial services needed by residents of Herndon Homes. Clearly, while the business park would bring employment to low-income residents, it would also remove the area's commercial services and further destroy what little is left of an active neighborhood.

Beyond the issues of economic feasibility and social equity lies a complicated urban design problem. The fragments of development that ULI and COPA have proposed for the Centennial Olympic Park area contain all the elements of a 24-hour neighborhood--entertainment, workplaces, retail, and housing--but they are not yet part of an overarching design strategy. If COPA seeks to make the area feel like a unified urban neighborhood, and not just more islands in Atlanta's downtown archipelago, it must establish continuity in the area's design.

As one of the architects of the original Omni complex, Thomas Ventulett has witnessed more than 25 years of development in and around his Omni complex. In his office, Ventulett keeps a map of the western area of downtown on which there are a series of concentric circles around the corner of Marietta Street and Techwood Drive at CNN Center. Each radius represents a five-minute walk from this intersection. The fourth circle from the center, a 20-minute walk, reaches as far as the other extremes of downtown: Georgia Tech to the north and I-75/85 to the east.

In Ventulett's view, 20 minutes is not a long walk if it is a pleasant experience. To enhance the streetscape, he has designed a scheme he calls "2,000 points of light": the installation of 2,000 uniform and distinctive light fixtures throughout the west side of downtown.

These fixtures, he surmises, will speak of the fact that this area is both a continuous neighborhood and distinctly urban. Over at COPA, Bleakly expresses his desire to incorporate signage and lighting into the design of the west side, and even has mentioned extending the traditionally-themed streetlights installed downtown for the Olympics.

In the opinion of Arquitectonica's Yann Weymouth, street furniture is nice, but it cannot be the sole definer of an active urban area. Weymouth stresses the need for an "urban concept" that both understands and controls levels of automotive and pedestrian traffic through the area. He believes that unless the buildings in the area are part of a larger concept of the area's character, street furniture will not be very useful.

Weymouth's point is well taken. Simply dressing up a streetfront with attractive lights, trees, and benches will not solve the deeper problems of a neighborhood. This much is evident from examining the efforts of the Corporation for Olympic Development in Atlanta (CODA), which created many pleasant looking street environments in central Atlanta for the Olympics. Even so, an "urban concept" as Weymouth envisions will be difficult to achieve given the lack of vision by the city of Atlanta. In this light, Ventulett's proposal for 2000 Points of Light may be as close to an urban concept as Atlanta can achieve.

Panacea or Fools' Gold?

In early 1998, there are signs of hope for the future of downtown Atlanta. A modest amount of new loft apartment and retail development, combined with new destinations such as restaurants, coffeehouses, the renovated Rialto Theater (in the Fairlie-Poplar district), and downtown's first brewpub, have unquestionably enhanced Atlanta's downtown experience. For all of the improvements, however, downtown Atlanta still has a long way to go before it can proclaim itself a 24-hour district.

Atlanta's commitment to expanding its downtown westward is a bold one, considering that the central downtown is currently struggling to maintain its vitality. This strategy has potential, as evidenced by Cleveland's success in generating excitement through the physical expansion of its downtown. However, while Cleveland introduced a wide variety of new entertainment opportunities as part of its urban design strategy, Atlanta's new sports arena neither adds a new use nor expands downtown's size. For these reasons, it will definitely not be the panacea that its boosters would like it to be.

> In low-income, Olympic-ring neighborhoods like Summerhill and Mechanicsville, the juxtaposition of attractive streets with the continued poverty in the area serves as a reminder of the failure of pre-Olympic redevelopment efforts.

The transformation of downtown Atlanta will progress slowly during the arena's two-year construction period, assuming that the string of small successes continues. By the time the arena opens in 1999, it is possible that development efforts will have spread as far as the area around Centennial Olympic Park. If this is the case, the arena will be part of a burgeoning urban neighborhood. This would make a trip downtown for a basketball or hockey game more than just a drive in and out of a concrete parking garage; it would be a thoroughly pleasant and uplifting urban experience.

Declaring the new arena to be the cure for all of downtown's ills is overstating the case. As the central element of a well-designed and conceived urban district, the arena definitely has the potential to be a major success. Yet to be addressed are the various problems encountered in the arena deal, specifically in the areas of

development, politics, equity, and urban design. If those responsible for the next several years' development around Centennial Olympic Park learn their lessons from this project, the arena will be part of a successful urban strategy. Otherwise, it will stand for the next several decades as a $200 million chunk of fools' gold--a perpetual reminder of the 24-hour downtown that never was.

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Building Assets and Economic Independence Through Individual Development Accounts

Carl Rist

Americans of most economic classes are experiencing difficulty in climbing the economic ladder. Half of them have no, negligible, or negative investable assets, just as the price of entry into the economic mainstream – for example, the cost of purchasing a house, obtaining an adequate education, or starting a business – is increasing. At the same time, sweeping welfare reform legislation is challenging states to help millions of families become self-sufficient. Individual Development Accounts are a new policy tool directed toward enabling struggling families to build assets and achieve economic well-being.

What are IDAs?

Individual Development Accounts (IDAs) are the centerpiece of a new asset-based strategy designed to build enduring escapes from poverty. Introduced by Washington University Professor Michael Sherraden in his seminal book, *Assets and the Poor* (Sherraden 1991), IDAs are savings accounts whose proceeds are restricted to high-return investments, such as post-secondary education and training, starting a business, or buying a first home. They are designed to increase the savings of the working poor, welfare recipients, and others who do not have enough income to participate fully in IRA-type savings programs. IDAs do this by matching the savings of lower-income account holders on a sliding scale using both public and private funds. IDA programs are typically organized at the local level by community-based organizations, with accounts held by a local financial institution. In addition to helping participants accumulate savings, a key feature of any IDA program is a strong "economic literacy" component designed to help participants learn the basics of money management, budgeting, using credit, and the importance of saving.

Why IDAs?

One of the clearest failures of welfare-to-work policies to date is that we help raise families just to the poverty line, but not above, leaving them without a cushion, and therefore one sickness, accident, or divorce

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away from falling back below the poverty line. When families accumulate even a small pool of savings, they are buffered from the illnesses and accidents that otherwise become crises, have the luxury of imagining a future brighter than the present, and are able to plan and prepare for that future, and ultimately to invest in themselves and their children.

In this country, though, the distribution of assets is more unequal than the distribution of income. While the top 20% of Americans command 43% of national earned income, they control 86% of net financial assets (see *Figure 1*). Moreover, almost one-third of American households have no or negative investable assets, including over 60% of African-Americans, 54% of Hispanics, and 62% of single-parent households (Oliver and Shapiro 1995:87).

In the South, where median net worth is just 79 percent of the national median, ownership of wealth is also more concentrated than income and is held disproportionately by white families. In 1995, median family income for white families was $39,303; for black families, $25,476. Yet, white families had median net worth of $68,660 in 1995, compared to only $18,800 for black families. Moreover, in 1995, black families in the South accounted for 41.8% of all families in the bottom U.S. wealth quintile (MDC 1998).

What is really disturbing, though, is not only that asset inequality in the South and in the U.S. exists, but that it is reinforced by national policy. In 1996, the federal government spent more than $200 billion to subsidize asset acquisition for the non-poor in the form of home mortgage deductions, preferential capital gains, and pension fund exclusions. Meanwhile, the federal government penalizes asset acquisition by the poor. For example, under previous federal guidelines, in order to remain eligible for Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), families on welfare were permitted no more than $1,000 in general assets. For Food Stamp eligibility, the asset limit was $2,000. Such regulations effectively bar families from saving for education for themselves or their children, starting and owning a business, purchasing, or rehabilitating a home, and owning a reliable car to transport them to work.

IDAs address the deficiencies of the current system by returning to the asset-based policies responsible for America's greatest periods of economic growth and prosperity. Our long history of asset-building policies includes the Homestead Act of the nineteenth century and the GI Bill of the twentieth century. The former provided land on the frontier to stimulate economic growth. The latter subsidized college tuition for war veterans, who in turn drove our post-war economic expansion.

Impact of IDAs

Owning assets gives people a stake in the future – a reason to save, dream, and invest time, effort, and resources in creating a future for themselves and their children. Professor Sherraden pinpoints the following nine effects of asset-building:

- improved household stability;
- people become psychologically connected with a viable, hopeful future;
- stimulated development of other assets, including human capital;
- people become able to focus and specialize;
- a foundation for risk-taking is provided;
- increased personal efficacy;
- increased social influence;
- increased political participation; and
- enhanced welfare of offspring.

The numerous IDA programs that are just getting underway across the United States will go a long way toward more precisely

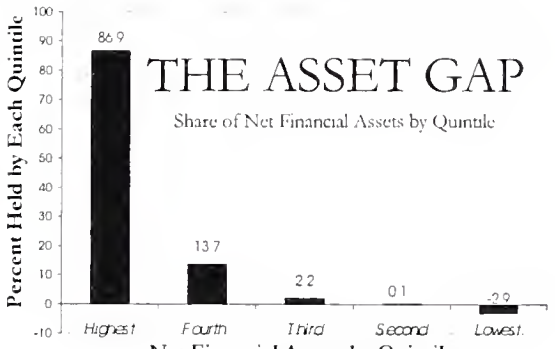
demonstrating and quantifying these benefits. In the meantime, the evidence from similar strategies designed to build the assets of lower-income Americans is quite promising:

- The NeighborWorks Campaign for Home Ownership, created by the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, was launched in 1993 and now involves over 100 cities nationwide. NeighborWorks has enabled 8,310 families to own new homes with an average cost per housing unit of $56,000 (Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation 1996).
- Business owners in the Self-Employment Investment Demonstration (SEID), a five-state microenterprise demonstration project comprised entirely of AFDC recipients, saw their reliance on AFDC as a primary source of income decrease 65%, and their reliance on food stamps as a secondary source of income decrease 62% from their time of entry in the program. At the same time, SEID business owners accumulated an average of $4,867 in net business assets and $8,738 in gross personal assets (Friedman, Grossman, and Sahay 1995).

The Growth of IDA Programs

At last count, over 100 community-based IDA programs across the United States are either in operation, in an advanced planning stage, or have completed operations. This includes 13 sites that are part of the American Dream Policy Demonstration (ADD), the first large-scale test of the efficacy of IDAs. ADD, which is being organized and coordinated by the Corporation for Enterprise Development, a Washington-based nonprofit economic development and policy research organization, will establish at least 2,000 accounts over a four-year operating period.

Figure 1



Source: *Black Wealth/White Wealth*, 1995

IDAs in North Carolina

Since January 1996, a broad-based coalition of leading institutions in North Carolina's community economic development network, as well as key human service providers, state agencies, local development organizations, policymakers and representatives from the philanthropic and corporate sectors, has been working to develop IDA demonstrations in North Carolina. The national IDA movement has progressed considerably in the two years since this coalition, known as the North Carolina Working Group on IDAs and Asset Building, first came together. After a period of design and public awareness raising, several demonstrations are now underway:

- **Small Cities CDBG/Homeownership-IDA demonstration**

  On February 25, 1998, Governor Hunt announced $240,000 in grants for a four-site IDA demonstration program that will help 160 North Carolina families to purchase new homes. The demonstration is a collaboration of the state's Division of Community Assistance (DCA) working with county governments and local nonprofit organizations. Federal money is provided to families through

DCA's Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program and is administered by the local governments. The four sites are:

- Caldwell County and the Western Piedmont Council of Governments;
- Forsyth County and the Forsyth County Housing Department;
- Buncombe County and the Affordable Housing Coalition; and
- Beaufort County, Metropolitan Low-Income Housing and CDC, Inc. and the Community Developers of Beaufort/Hyde.

- **State-funded IDA demonstration**

The North Carolina Department of Labor, in conjunction with the North Carolina Department of Health and Human Services, is managing a multi-year, multi-site demonstration of IDAs funded by a $600,000 appropriation from the North Carolina General Assembly in its 1997 session. This demonstration will provide matching funds for a minimum of 300 accounts, whose proceeds may be used for business ownership, first-time homeownership, or post-secondary education/training. In June 1998, 8 sites were chosen in the first round of site selection for this demonstration. These sites (with permitted IDA uses in parentheses) include:

- Community Developers of Beaufort-Hyde/Metropolitan Low-Income Housing and CDC, Inc. (training, housing - Hyde County only).
  Note: this site was also funded via the DCA demonstration.
- East Carolina Community Development, Inc. in Carteret County (housing, micro-enterprise).
- Edgecombe County Department of Social Services (training, housing).
- Experiment in Self-Reliance, Inc. in Forsyth County (training, housing, microenterprise).
  Note: this organization is working in conjunction with the Forsyth County Housing Department which was also funded via the DCA demonstration.
- Lexington Housing CDC in Davidson County (housing).
- Mecklenburg County Department of Social Services (training, housing, micro-enterprise).
- Northwestern Regional Housing Authority (Alleghany, Ashe, Avery, Mitchell, Watauga, Wilkes and Yancey counties) — (training, housing).
- Southeastern Community College in Columbus County (training, microenterprise).

- **City of Durham demonstration**

The City of Durham has committed $50,000 to a homeownership-IDA demonstration for lower-income Durham residents. This demonstration is being organized in cooperation with the Affordable Housing Coalition and Consumer Credit Counseling Services and will fund up to 50 accounts. At present, several account holders have been enrolled and begun saving.

In addition, IDAs have been recognized in North Carolina's state welfare reform plan. The state's *Work First State Plan* specifies that "counties may establish their own IDA projects locally as described in their local

block grant plan." This inclusion of IDAs in the state plan means that: 1) counties may choose to use TANF funds to match savings in IDAs and 2) all money saved by the poor in IDAs will be disregarded from affecting eligibility for public assistance.

How To Support IDAs in North Carolina

As the IDA movement continues to expand in North Carolina and nationwide, there are a number of ways that interested individuals and organizations can become involved:

- **Inform yourself and your organization.** To learn more about IDAs as a tool for increasing the self-sufficiency of lower-income families, visit the IDA Learning Network at http:///idanetwork.org, the Corporation for Enterprise Development's (CFED) website at http://www.cfed.org, and the website of the Center for Social Development at http://www.gwbssw.wustl.edu/~csd. In addition, by contacting CFED's North Carolina office (see Editors' Note), you can sign up to receive both the *Assets* newsletter, a national publication on IDAs, and *Assets and Independence*, a periodic newsletter about IDAs in North Carolina.

- **Participate in an IDA program locally.** IDA programs typically rely on a variety of partners to carry out the numerous functions that are part of IDA programs. These include participant recruitment, economic literacy training, raising matching funds, and account management. If your organization has resources or expertise in one of these areas, you may want to consider partnering with a local organization that is either currently operating or in the process of developing an IDA program.

- **Develop your own IDA program.** Your organization may also choose to design and operate your own IDA program. A great resource for organizations considering this approach is *Designing Your Own Individual Development Account Demonstration: An Information and Resource Handbook for Community-Based Organizations.* To order your copy, contact CFED's Washington office at 202-408-9788.

In addition, state or local policymakers should consider the following ways to support IDA programs:

- Dedicate TANF funding (at either the state level or the county level) to match the savings of welfare recipients who open IDAs.
- Allocate a portion of the Welfare-to-Work grants (forthcoming from the U.S. Department of Labor) to match savings in IDAs.
- Require or encourage employers to contribute to the IDAs of welfare recipients whom they hire as employees and for whom they are receiving a wage subsidy.
- Develop additional options for matching IDA savings, including tax incentives or job training funds.
- Fund evaluation and monitoring efforts designed to track the costs and returns of IDAs.
- Support community organizations that assume the counseling, education, monitoring, and enforcement functions of IDA programs.

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How Are We Doing? A Look at the Practice of Planning for Sustainable Development

Maria Manta and Philip R. Berke

Planning and Sustainable Development

The concept of sustainable development poses special challenges in the land use planning field as planning is fundamentally connected to the core themes found in the sustainability literature. These themes, often referred to as the three E's are: environmental protection, social equity, and economic development. From a local planning perspective, the themes are all affected by "what gets built and where." In the field of planning, present unsustainable land use patterns are noted as an indicator of larger societal sustainability problems. Calthorpe, for example, asserts that "[s]ettlement patterns are the physical foundation of our society and, like our society, they are becoming more and more fractured" (Calthorpe 1993:16). Land use planning is also seen as the principal forum for addressing sustainability concerns and promoting fundamental sustainable principles (Beatley 1995; Rees 1995; Thomas 1994). Rees, for example, notes:

> In this increasingly fragmented and specialized world, planning is the one academic discipline and professional pursuit that explicitly attempts to be holistic or at least integrative at the level of society as a whole. At its best, planning provides a context in which the specialized knowledge of other disciplines comes together and begins to make unified sense. (Rees 1995:355)

The primary manner in which planning can bring together and put into action the themes of sustainability is in the community comprehensive plan. The comprehensive planning process and subsequent plan provide a vehicle for the embodiment of sustainable development themes on a community level.

Much of the research related to sustainable development has been abstract or descriptive (van den Bergh and van der Straatan 1994) and a common definition of the concept and framework for its implementation

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Table 1: Six Basic Principles of Sustainable Development*

Work in harmony with nature.
Land use and development activities should support the essential cycles and life support functions of ecosystems. Whenever possible, these activities should mimic ecosystem processes, rather than modify them to fit urban forms. These activities must respect and preserve biodiversity, as well as protect and restore essential ecosystem services that maintain water quality, reduce flooding, and enhance sustainable resource development.

Livable built environment.
The location, shape, density, mix, proportion, and quality of development should: enhance fit by creating physical spaces adapted to desired activities of inhabitants; encourage community cohesion by fostering accessibility among land uses; and support sense of place to ensure protection of special physical characteristics of urban forms that support community identity and attachment.

Place-based economy.
A local economy should strive to operate within natural system limits. It should not cause deterioration of the natural resource base, which serves as a capital asset for future economic development. Essential products and processes of nature should be used no more quickly than nature can renew them. Waste discharges should occur no more quickly than nature can assimilate them.

The local economy should also produce built environments that meet locally defined needs and aspirations. It should create diverse housing and infrastructure that enhance community livability and the efficiency of local economic activities.

Equity.
Land use patterns should recognize and improve the conditions of low-income populations, and not deprive them of basic levels of environmental health and human dignity. Equitable access to social and economic resources is essential for eradicating poverty and in accounting for the needs of the least advantaged.

Polluters pay.
Polluters (or culpable interests) that cause adverse community-wide impacts should be required to pay, taking into account that the polluter must bear the cost of pollution and other harms with due regard to the public interest.

Responsible regionalism.
Communities should not act simply in their own interests and should account for the consequences of their actions on others. Just as individual developers may be subject to polluters pays, a local jurisdiction has an obligation to minimize the harm it imposes on other jurisdictions in pursuit of its own objectives.

**adapted from Berke and Manta (forthcoming)*

remain elusive. There has been, as a result, a dearth of research that links the burgeoning theory to planning practice (Beatley 1995; Campbell 1996; Grant *et al.* 1996; Healey and Shaw 1997; Rees 1995). There has been some evidence that communities have begun to subscribe to the general concept of sustainable development (see, for example, PCSD 1996; CONCERN 1996). Some studies have also presented some guidelines for planning for sustainable development (see, for example, Beatley and Manning 1998; Roseland 1992).

However, little critical analysis has been done as to whether and how this new paradigm is being put into practice and whether it differs from what would generally be considered "good planning." One study that addresses the link between sustainable development theory and planning practice is by Berke and Manta (forthcoming). This study comparatively assesses how well 20 notable[1] community comprehensive plans and 10 plans that explicitly acknowledge the concept of sustainable development promote operationalized principles that link sustainability themes to plan policies.

In an effort to assess the use of sustainable development concepts in practice, this paper descriptively explores two aspects of the Berke and Manta study. First, how well do plan policies promote principles of sustainable development through land use and growth management measures? Second, is there any difference in the strength with which principles are promoted through these measures by plans that do not explicitly acknowledge the concept of sustainable development versus those that do?

To answer these questions, the paper begins with a brief discussion of the study, including its framework for analysis, sample, and methodology. Findings on the extent to which plans promote sustainable development through growth management measures as well as specific community examples are then offered along with conclusions.

Sustainability in Plans[2]

The Berke and Manta study takes a first step to operationalize the basic themes of sustainable development. The formulation of a framework for analysis must take into consideration the varied conceptions of sustainability. Authors have attempted to capture the themes of sustainability in their calls for compact urban form, green markets, human scale development, open space preservation, and the like (see for example, Beatley 1995; Grant *et al.* 1996; Roseland 1992). Based on our review of the literature, we suggest six basic principles that capture the common factors of planning for sustainable development (see Table 1). The principles are related to plan goals and policies, but admittedly cannot fully account for those aspects of sustainability that stem from the plan preparation process (e.g., participation). The principles are explicitly connected to "the location, shape, scale, and quality of human settlements" (Berke and Manta forthcoming). Use of these principles in plan content analysis provides a method for assessing the strength with which plans promote the concept of sustainable development.

Sample Population

We used a sample population of 30 communities made up of 10 communities that explicitly acknowledge the concept of sustainable development in their plan, and 20 high-end plans that did not explicitly mention the concept. The sample was generated by first identifying a broad range of information sources relating to community sustainable development and urban planning activities that occurred between 1984 and 1995. The most relevant sources for our review included academic and professional journals, sustainable development newsletters, books that focus on sustainable development or principles thereof, state level and academic contacts, and a computer mail list server. We identified more than 100 community plans that potentially used the sustainable develop-

Table 2: Policy Categories of Growth Management Measures*

Policy Categories	
1. *Land Use Regulation* Density Permitted use Special study zone Sensitive area overlay Subdivision Site review Local environmental impact statement	4. *Financial Incentives* Impact fees Reduced taxation Bonus zoning Exaction Land trust funds
2. *Property Acquisition* Transfer of development rights (TDR) Acquisition of land Acquisition of development rights Land bank Acquisition of development units	5. *Building Codes and Standards* Standards for new buildings Standards for retrofitting existing buildings
3. *Capital Facilities* Phased growth Concurrency Location of capital facilities Urban service boundary Annexation	6. *Public Education and Awareness* Builder workshop Public education program (job training) Info-brief mailing

**from Berke and Manta (forthcoming)*

ment concept for guiding urban land use planning initiatives or had been recognized with an award from the American Planning Association. Community size parameters reduced the number of community plans in the study population to 85.[3] This sample represented an extensive, though not exhaustive, search for all potential communities in those groups.

An initial analysis of the plans found that 10 incorporated the concept of sustainable development as an overarching theme or as an integral component of their vision statement. The concept was considered used if either the terminology was used explicitly or if the fundamental aspects of sustainable development were consistently referred to in the document. While the number of communities that integrated the concept of sustainability is small, the communities that did are diverse with respect to both geographics and population measures.[4]

The other 20 community plans in the sample were randomly selected from the 75 plans that remained. These communities all represented high-end plans, which were defined as plans that either won state or national awards from the American Planning Association, or were otherwise noted in the literature as high-quality plans. While these communities were also varied in their geographic and demographic characteristics, no significant differences between these groups' plans were found when their socioeconomic and mandate aspects were compared.

Plan Evaluation

The measure of plan sustainability for comparative evaluation was determined through a content analysis of plan policies. Policies were evaluated based on the sustainable development principle that they forwarded as well as the strength with which the principle was promoted. The policies were further categorized based upon the policy group and the plan element (e.g., housing, transportation, environment, energy, urban design, economic development, or public facilities) that were utilized. Policy groups were classified by growth management measures that guide the location, density, amount, timing, and quality of development (see Table 2).

Plan policies were evaluated on a 0 to 2 scale where 0 means "does not promote the given plan principle"; 1 means "promotes the principle, but does not mandate action"; and 2 means "promotes the principle with mandatory action." For example, policies that used terminology such as "suggest" or "consider" would receive a score of 1; policies that contained words such as "require" or "must" would receive a score of 2. Higher scores, therefore, indicated more attention to a given principle and were considered more sustainable than lower scores. Scores were normalized over the maximum possible score, and then multiplied by 100. An overall sustainability score for the plan was calculated as the sum of the scores for the six principles.

Findings

Table 3 shows the plan scores by principle and total for the two community groups in the sample. The communities in the table are only representatives of the overall group, but the pattern of scores holds for the entire sample.[5] As evidenced by the table, scores under the principles of livable built environment and, to a lesser degree, working with nature, dominate the high scores for both groups in the sample. The livable built environment principle focuses on conditions that foster a "community" environment. The dominance of this principle was not a surprising result given that the basic purpose of most plans was to foster a setting in which people want to reside, work, and recreate. Such results may indicate a reliance by communities on traditional planning perspectives; this will be further explored when we examine the policy categories that forward these principles.

Table 3: Scores of Selected Plans Promoting Sustainable Development Principles by Community*

Community	Sustainable Development Principles						
	Polluters Pay	Responsible Regionalism	Working with Nature	Livable Built Environment	Equity/Eradicating Poverty	Place-Based Economy	Principle Totals
Sustainable Development Integrated							
Chattanooga, TN	0	.9	2.1	3.5	3.0	2.1	11.5
Kansas City, MO	.7	.9	2.3	5.1	3.2	1.6	13.8
Lincoln, NE	1.8	1.4	3.5	8.1	1.4	0	16.1
Portland, OR	1.2	6.9	10.4	16.8	8.5	10.8	54.6
Seattle, WA	.5	3.0	2.8	6.2	1.8	2.5	16.8
Teton County, WY	.7	.2	3.7	7.1	2.8	.9	15.4
Sustainable Development Not Integrated							
Anchorage, AK	.7	1.4	6.5	6.5	1.6	.7	17.3
Charleston, SC	2.3	0	6.7	7.4	5.8	3.0	25.1
Davis, CA	.9	2.1	5.5	13.6	3.9	1.6	27.6
Honey Brook, PA	.2	0	3.0	4.8	.7	0	8.8
Jacksonville, FL	1.2	4.4	14.7	25.3	10.1	7.4	63.1
Wilmington, NC	0	0	5.1	8.8	.9	3.0	17.7
Windsor, CT	0	.2	0	6.7	.9	1.2	9.0

1. Values of 0 are not equal to 0, but are too small to be depicted by 2 significant digits

**adapted from Berke and Manta (forthcoming)*

Also of note from this table is that the total score for Jacksonville, Florida, is highest not only within its group, but also overall. This community's high score may be due to Florida's strong state planning mandate. Research done in the area of hazards mitigation has shown that state level planning mandates can have a positive effect on plan quality (Berke and French 1994; Dalton and Burby 1994). The high score may also be the result of Jacksonville's vision statement.[6] Like many of the plans in the sample, Jacksonville's comprehensive plan begins with a statement of community priorities and goals. The vision statement presents how the community wants to grow and/or what it wants to "look like" in the future; it is a "super-goal" that other goals and plan policies should forward. Although three key points of the vision statement address responsible regionalism and place-based economy (neither of which was a high score), five of the six specific vision elements target working with nature, constructing a livable built environment, and promoting equity and eradicating poverty themes.

Interestingly, almost half of Jacksonville's total score is from the livable built environment principle; the working with nature principle contributes an additional quarter to the total score. Portland, Oregon, has the highest overall score for the sustainability group. Its score, however, is more evenly distributed across the six principles than is Jacksonville's: with the exception of the "polluters pay" score, each principle contributed between 12 and 31 percent of the total score. Such an approach may indicate a better notion of balance between the main aspects of sustainable development. The notion of balance and integration of the themes of sustainability is a key component of the literature (see, for example, Kaiser *et al.* 1995; UN 1992).

Further examination of the sustainability scores is presented in Table 4. This table shows the comparative use of plan policy categories in forwarding sustainable development principles. In both groups, scores for the land use regulation category of policies (e.g., permitted uses such as zoning) received the highest scores for at least four of the six principles. Financial incentives were highest for polluters pay for both groups, while capital facilities dominated the scores for the responsible regionalism principle for the integrated group. The dominance of land use regulations, as with the dominance of the livable built environment principle, may indicate that communities rely on traditional planning approaches such as zoning.

Across the principles, there is little significant difference between the scores for the plans in the two groups. Small but significant differences exist between the two groups under four of the six principles and three of the six policy categories. Land use regulations show significant differences under polluters pay, livable built environment, and place-based economy. Building code and public education policies promoting the livable built environment principle also show significant differences between the two groups. Differences appear to be the result of both high scores from Jacksonville, Florida, as well as from consistently higher scores on the traditional planning activities by the non-integrated communities. However, the most significant difference that exists between these groups is in public education policies that promote the principle of responsible regionalism. This is also the only significant difference in which the integrated communities scored higher on average than the non-integrated communities. The difference was due primarily to the activities of Chattanooga, Tennessee, Lincoln, Nebraska, and Portland, Oregon. Lincoln, for example, used public education activities to promote regional transportation and regional park system ideas.

The principle of polluters pay received the lowest scores of all principles for both groups. It was forwarded most typically through financial means involving impact fees and exactions, as well as through capital facility design and location, phased growth,

and local environmental impact statements. For example, Anchorage, Alaska, Charleston, South Carolina, and Portland, Oregon, all required an environmental impact statement that would demonstrate the expected consequences that development would have on the environmental health of the community. Other communities called for new development to pay its share of the schools and services that would be needed to support it. The plan for Davis, California, for example, states that "[c]osts should be allocated in proportion to burden incurred or benefit received, based on service demand generated by different land uses and the pro-rata cost of service each geographic area" (*City of Davis General Plan, Volume 1* 1993:2-2).

The relatively low scores of this principle are most likely due to its inherent political nature. While many citizens may favor development that pays for its impacts in some manner, local governments may not have the political will to make such demands while also trying to entice revenue-generating development. Local governments may be concerned about losing a competitive edge in the development location selection process if too many requirements are forced on potential developers. Charleston, South Carolina, was the most successful of all the sample communities at promoting the polluters pay principle. It did so primarily through the use of impact fees.

Responsible regionalism was another infrequently promoted principle. This may be due in part to the physical nature of some communities. Anchorage, Alaska, and Jackson-Teton County, Wyoming, for example, are both geographically located in a "bowl" or "hole" surrounded by mountains. Regional issues are not, therefore, as evident as they might be elsewhere. The writing of joint plans, as in Honey Brook, Pennsylvania, Jackson-Teton County, Wyoming, and New Hanover County-Wilmington, North Carolina, also made regional considerations implicit rather than explicit in many plans. Joint plans broadened the scope of the community analysis so that extra-territorial issues became part of the planning process.

Policies that were used to promote responsible regionalism in these plans focused on neighboring and affected land uses, capital facility considerations (both in terms of management and capacity), and land acquisitions. Portland, Oregon, was most successful at promoting the principle of responsible regionalism. It did so through capital facility policies. In this case, regional thinking was most likely related to the Portland metropolitan service district and the area's regional governance approach to growth management (DeGrove 1992). The Honey Brook, Pennsylvania, plan did an extensive job of setting a regional context, though specific policies promoting responsible regionalism were not offered. The plan presented a section on the regional setting that looks at the geographic area, population issues, and common resources, as well as other regional issues (such as the county airport, recreation, schools, and waste disposal). In addition, the plan preparation process examined the comprehensive plans of adjacent communities in order to assess the compatability of the Honey Brook plan with respect to its neighbors.

The principles of equity and eradicating poverty and of place-based economy received scores of a similar strength in both groups. The scores were not as strong as those of working with nature or livable built environment, but they were stronger than those for responsible regionalism and polluters pay. Though forwarded by the variety of policies, equity and eradicating poverty was largely equated with affordable housing. Often this was done through the provision of incentives such as bonus zoning or general financial incentives for developers who incorporated affordable housing units in their proposals. Chattanooga, Tennessee, and Seattle, Washington, both used these approaches. Other communities such as Kansas City, Kansas, and Windsor, Connecticut, relied on the permitted use

Table 4: Comparison of Mean and Total Scores of Plan Policies Forwarding Sustainable Development Principles[1*]

Plan Policy Category[3]	Sustainable Development Principles[2] Integrated (Not Integrated)					
	Polluters Pay	Responsible Regionalism	Working with Nature	Livable Built Environment	Equity/Eradicating Poverty	Place-Based Economy
Land Use Regulations	.05 (.16)*	.32 (.45)	1.7 (2.05)	2.7 (4.1)*	.74 (.83)	.89 (1.3)*
Property Acquisition	0 (.01)	.11 (.08)	.39 (.45)	.46 (.69)	.21 (.14)	.07 (.10)
Capital Facilities	.21 (.18)	.89 (.39)	.62 (.74)	2.2 (2.5)	.48 (.53)	.55 (.71)
Financial Incentives	.37 (.23)	.05 (.02)	.39 (.39)	.59 (.94)	.59 (.48)	.29 (.23)
Building Codes & Standards	0 (0)	0 (.01)	.25 (.21)	.62 (.87)*	.44 (.15)	.18 (.09)
Public Education & Awareness	0 (0)	.12 (.01)**	.34 (.23)	.32 (.70)*	.23 (.23)	.21 (.21)
Principle Totals	.63 (.58)	1.49 (.96)	3.69(4.05)	6.89 (9.8)	2.69 (2.36)	2.19 (2.64)

1. Values of .0 are not equal to 0, but are too small to be depicted by the significant digits
2. Comparison of mean scores of integrated and not integrated plans for each principle by each plan element and principle totals show t-values that are significantly different for * $p < .1$; and ** $p < .05$.
3. Among the integrated and not integrated groups: F-values are significantly different ($p < .01$) for each plan policy category, but are not significantly different ($p > .1$) for the public education and financial incentives policies; and the F-value is significantly different ($p < .01$) for principle totals.

* *adapted from Berke and Manta (forthcoming)*

aspect of land use regulations to allow for "granny flats," multi-family units, or other non-single-family residential living options. Charleston, South Carolina, used a "scattered site affordable housing program" to avoid concentrating economically-disadvantaged citizens into pockets by integrating them throughout the community in economically-mixed neighborhoods. This program was implemented primarily through land use regulation policies. Though many communities talked generally about having a goal of such mixed neighborhoods, Charleston was able to operationalize it through its plan policies.

Land use regulation scores, specifically those for zoning and other permitted use policies, were the highest scores for promoting the principle of place-based economy. Portland, Oregon, for example, forwarded this principle through a community-based orientation in its plan. The plan called for providing adequate space in neighborhoods for retail/commercial activities through a diverse array of policies, as well as for recirculating the production and consumption patterns within the community. Portland also called for the use of "industrial sanctuaries." These areas are "protected" as industrial centers primarily through land use regulations.

Conclusions

This paper provides an exploratory review of the manner in which sustainability principles are promoted by plan policies. While the sample size is small, which limits any statistical conclusions that may be drawn, the study does provide some useful insight for addressing the two main questions posed at the beginning of the article. The examination of how well plan policies promote principles of sustainable development shows in general that plans have fallen short of integrating the principles into plan policies. As was indicated with the scores found in Table 4, the scores for both the integrated and non-integrated groups were very small in relation to the maximum potential score. The small scores may be due in part to some policy-principle incompatibilities: while in theory each policy category could be used to promote each sustainability principle, some pairings make more or less sense than others. The distribution of scores for both groups shows the highest scores in the traditional planning areas of land use regulations under livable built environment and working with nature principles. A balance between the principles or the integration of policies under the principles is not present to the degree called for under the paradigm of sustainable development.

The results of the content analysis also show that few significant differences exist in principle scores between those community plans that explicitly acknowledge or integrate the concept of sustainability and those otherwise high-end plans that do not. Both groups followed the same pattern of use of growth management measures in their plan policies. The inclusion of the concept of sustainability does not result in significantly different principle scores.

So what does this indicate for the state of planning for sustainable development? As noted earlier, the results of this study should be considered exploratory. Even so, the results seem to show that there remains a gap between what is called for in the sustainable development literature and what is being done in planning practice. The sustainable development paradigm offers a complex and holistic approach for the future of planning practice. It may take some time for such an approach to be adopted by planning practitioners – we can see from this review that "old planning habits die hard." However, a concerted effort must be made to bridge the gap between the theory and practice of sustainable development if the paradigm is to be anything more than idealistic rhetoric.

Endnotes

[1] Notable plans are ones that have been lauded for being innovative in some way and/or have been among the American Planning Association award winning plans between 1984 and 1995.

[2] A more detailed account of the population and methodology can be found in Berke and Manta (forthcoming).

[3] Seven large cities (population greater than 1 million) and 10 small cities (population less than 2,000) were excluded to ensure some compatibility in planning complexity and capabilities of selected communities. Additionally, the smallest communities were not likely to be capable of establishing a minimal planning program; the largest communities were not likely to plan as a single planning unit (e.g., West Philadelphia has a plan that differs from that of North Philadelphia).

[4] Communities whose plans integrated the concept of sustainability into their plans represented 10 different states and had populations that varied from approximately 20,000 to 900,000 people (Berke and Manta forthcoming).

[5] A complete table of scores for all communities in the sample groups can be found in Berke and Manta (forthcoming).

[6] The Jacksonville, Florida, vision statement states:

> The overall vision of the 2010 Comprehensive plan is to build upon the numerous assets of our community and provide a solid foundation into the 21st Century while simultaneously maintaining and enhancing Jacksonville's vibrant neighborhoods and rich natural resources by: a.) strengthening the regional role of the City of Jacksonville . . .; b.) strengthening Jacksonville's role as a center of high technology industries, trade, transportation, finance, [and] insurance . . . ; and by c.) encouraging and maintaining the development of Jacksonville's Central Business District . . . More specifically, it is the intent of the 2010 Comprehensive plan to encourage the most appropriate use of land, water, and resources consistent with the public interest; overcome present handicaps and deal effectively with future problems that may result from the use and development of land within the City; facilitate the adequate and efficient provision of transportation, water, sewerage, schools, parks, recreational facilities, housing, and other services; and to conserve, develop, utilize, and protect historic and natural resources within the city. Furthermore, mechanisms to facilitate intergovernmental coordination between the City, its adjacent municipalities, and regional and state agencies for planning and development activities are presented. (1-2)

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Economic Revitalization and Resource Protection in Rural Mountain Communities

Mikki Sager, Craig White and Kathleen Marks

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Many of North Carolina's most beautiful rural communities are home to remarkable natural resources. Sometimes, however, these unique environmental assets limit the area's economic development opportunities. Bakersville is one such community.

Located at the base of Roan Mountain, an internationally-significant natural area and the world's largest natural rhododendron garden, Bakersville (population 339) boasts a rich cultural heritage, with families that have called the area home for generations. As North Carolina's mountains became increasingly affected by growth, Bakersville town leaders realized the importance of shaping the future of their community. How could they maintain the small town character so important to residents and revitalize their local economy?

Lifelong resident Ed William Wilson, III, whose family has worked as subsistence farmers for more than nine generations, very eloquently describes the mountaineers' attachment to the land, which has helped to preserve the natural heritage of the Southern Appalachians over the years:

> *For generations my family has worked, played, gone to church, married, raised our children and died around this area. We made every effort to be good stewards of the land. It was not an option or an attitude, it was necessary to survive. In our nation, and all too often, the ability to exploit our resources for short term gain has outstripped our interest in, or understanding of, the consequences for the future.*
>
> *But we stand in a position today to address this imbalance, to act rather than react; to not simply plan for the future but to shape and mold it into a legacy we can give our children without excuse or regret . . . We welcome the opportunities that growth offers . . . [b]ut not at the expense of the very things that define this place and our home: our mountains, the oldest in the world, it is said. Our forests that cloak the hills with life. Our streams and rivers, the fresh waters basic to our life. We must demand that what would be new accommodate, even embrace, that which is old. That those who come here seeking should also be willing to give in equal measure.*

And that those who make this home remember that it already is home...

Getting Started

Roan Mountain has long had an important connection with Bakersville. Home of the Rhododendron Festival for more than 50 years, Bakersville promoted itself as the "Gateway to Roan Mountain." Early economic development proposals suggested capitalizing on the site's popularity by building a visitor center on top of the mountain.

Discussions with town and county leaders focused on the long-term implications of building a visitor center on Roan Mountain and the fact that it would be similar to building a bypass around downtown Bakersville: visitors would never bother stopping in the town, which would effectively eliminate many downtown small businesses and related economic activities and leave this county seat with a very limited economy to serve its 339 residents. In addition, such a development would destroy the rhododendron gardens that offered such appeal. Community residents and leaders arrived at the conclusion that if they could focus on revitalizing their downtown, the entire downtown district could serve as a visitor center and the natural resources unique to this area would be preserved.

The Small Towns Project

In 1995 HandMade in America (HIA), a regional nonprofit organization dedicated to promoting the handmade craft industry in 21 counties of western North Carolina, was laying the groundwork to help small towns promote their cultural resources through *The Craft Heritage Trails of Western North Carolina.* The *Craft Heritage Trails* guidebook, published in 1996, included over 360 shops, galleries, studios, restaurants and bed-and-breakfasts that celebrated the traditional and modern handmade craft industry in the western North Carolina mountains.

Several small towns approached HIA staff to request assistance. Town leaders in Mars Hill, Chimney Rock and Andrews were all concerned that they did not have many sites listed in the guidebook, but felt that with a little bit of work, they could expand their list of attractions for inclusion in the next book. When Bakersville leaders heard about the project, and realized that their town was very similar to the other three, they asked to be included in the HIA project.

Four Small Towns Come Together

The Four Small Towns Project aimed to help local leaders in Andrews, Bakersville, Chimney Rock and Mars Hill revitalize their downtown business districts and create small business opportunities for local residents through craft heritage tourism development. HandMade in America's effort drew broad-based support from many partners, including the North Carolina Division of Community Assistance, the Kathleen Price Bryan Family Fund, The Conservation Fund's Resourceful Communities Program, Conservation Trust for North Carolina, the Southern Appalachian Highlands Conservancy (SAHC) and the US Forest Service (USFS).

The four towns were similar in many respects: each was smaller than most towns in the National Main Street Program; each town had few or no sites listed in the *Craft Heritage Trails* guidebook; and each had two or more local residents who agreed to take the lead in helping to oversee the project work locally. Becky Anderson, HIA Executive Director, liked to say that in order to participate in the project, each town could have no more than one main street and one stoplight.

When a resident of Andrews heard this, he was concerned that Andrews would be eliminated from the project because they had two stoplights in town—and he quickly offered to shoot out the second stoplight if needed to keep Andrews involved in the Four Small Towns Project! (He was just as quickly assured that Andrews could participate, no matter how many stoplights they had.)

There were differences, as well, ranging from population (Chimney Rock - 103; Bakersville - 339; Andrews - 1,100; and Mars Hill - 1,500); to local government involvement and support of the project; to access issues (Chimney Rock and Bakersville are relatively isolated, Andrews had been bypassed a number of years ago, and Mars Hill was in the process of being bypassed by I-26); to economic issues (in Bakersville, county government was the largest employer and they wanted to promote Bakersville as "the gateway to Roan Mountain," Chimney Rock wanted to capitalize on nearby Chimney Rock Park and attract eco-tourists, Mars Hill was wrestling with the very real possibility that all their downtown businesses might move out to the bypass, and Andrews wanted to attract more tourists who were passing through on their way to the Nantahala River or the Great Smoky Mountains Railroad).

The Main Street Process

The project was designed to use the Main Street Program planning process developed by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and to customize it to meet the needs and the "workings" of small towns. Generous funding from the Kathleen Price Bryan Family Fund helped sustain the project. Second-year funding was required to be matched, dollar-for-dollar, by the towns, with each town required to raise $6,250 locally. If any of the towns failed to raise their match, none of the towns would receive their matching funds. This approach ensured strong local and regional support for the project.

Based on the Main Street Program, each participating community followed a similar process. During the first year, a "Resource Team," comprised of downtown revitalization experts from throughout the mountain region, performed a thorough community assessment. Each small town chose a similar "sister community" in the mountain region that was also working on downtown revitalization; the "sister community" served as a mentor throughout the year. Finally, the towns were required to attend group planning and progress meetings held every six weeks in Asheville to report on progress, ask questions, share concerns and swap tales about their projects.

Public Involvement

Tailoring each Resource Team visit to the particular community was critical to their success. Each agenda was developed by a local steering committee and was designed to meet the needs and interests of the local government, the business sector and community groups.

A project coordinator worked closely with each town to provide the staffing support that would be needed to coordinate the Resource Team visit, and worked with the town afterward on implementing the team's recommendations.

Team visits were publicized to all members of the community through newsletters distributed with water bills, individualized letters sent to business owners and newspaper articles and radio announcements.

The Resource Team agendas were designed to help team members meet as many folks as possible. Churches and fire departments sponsored community

suppers to enable Resource Team members to informally interview community members. Homemade cinnamon buns and coffee were served in the post offices when everyone came to get their mail in the morning, and were very useful in encouraging residents to complete a survey. Senior centers were visited so the elders' points of view could be included. In Bakersville, the Steering Committee felt it was important to find out what young people wanted for their town when they grew up, so the Resource Team ate lunch with the first and fourth graders at the elementary school on one day, and with the seventh and eighth graders in the middle school the second day. (Interestingly, 98% of the younger students wanted to live and work in Bakersville when they grew up, as did 93% of the seventh and eighth-graders.)

Resource Team agendas also were designed to provide a historical perspective on the community, including its traditions, economy, and culture. On the first night of each visit, Resource Team members were treated to presentations by life-long residents, historical society members, self-taught historians, teachers and others who could tell the story about the town's history, leaders and local characters, economic and recreational activities, schools, churches, and anything else that was important to the town. As Richard Dillingham said in the Mars Hill visit, "[Y]ou have to look back at where you've come from to figure out where you want to go."

Community leaders and project team members felt that this upfront communication and outreach helped generate strong local support for the community assessment process and subsequent recommendations. People felt that a sincere effort had been made to reach out to the community and hear people's thoughts and opinions.

Bakersville: Growth and Opportunity

The Resource Team visit focused on identifying Bakersville's assets and resources that could be sustainably used to promote economic growth and community improvement. Several key assets that were identified as potential eco- and heritage-tourism attractions were: Roan Mountain, Cane Creek, Penland School of Crafts, local craftspeople and artisans, and the historic County Courthouse (ca. 1907), to name a few.

The Resource Team's design expert, a landscape architect, saw a great deal of potential in developing a greenway along Cane Creek to provide recreational opportunities for residents and visitors alike. Local leaders were encouraged to capitalize on the fact that most of the Town's residents like to walk throughout the community, sometimes on sidewalks, sometimes on trails. The promotions expert pointed out that there are very few places where you can fish for trout in the middle of the downtown business district, and suggested that the greenway could be developed to showcase fishing opportunities as well.

The Southern Appalachian Highlands Conservancy secured a DuPont American Greenways grant to develop a walking trail along Cane Creek. The trail passed through three properties, so local leaders met with the property owners and the Town Attorney and secured donations of access easements. Using an Urban Forestry grant from the North Carolina Division of Forest Resources, a landscape masterplan has since been completed for the entire downtown and CreekWalk areas. Trees and rhododendrons have also been planted to create town entryways as recommended during the Resource Team visit. Townfolk are building a foot bridge, gazebo, picnic area, and exercise stations

along the CreekWalk. Artists from the nearby Penland School, with funding from the USFS/National Endowment for the Arts grants program, are working to create an entryway, fishing benches and paving stones for the creekside trail.

Measures of Success

The Bakersville project team has recently documented the economic impact of the downtown revitalization efforts over the past eighteen months. There have been 3 building facade restorations, 2 building renovations, 9 new jobs, 4 new businesses, and a total investment of over $446,000 in Bakersville as a result of the downtown project. In the first published version of *The Craft Heritage Trails of Western North Carolina* there were no sites listed for the town of Bakersville. In the upcoming second publication, eleven sites will be included. Finally, because of the recommendations made during the Resource Team visit, there is a heightened interest in environmental and land use issues. In fact, the Town Board recently appointed a subcommittee to research and make recommendations on limited zoning to be implemented in the town. A part-time planner has been hired with funding from the Year of the Mountains planning grants program to coordinate the downtown revitalization and greenway efforts.

Looking Ahead

Bakersville will continue to work closely with many partners over the next few years. Partnerships with other mountain communities will be continued to ensure regional as well as local cooperation. The Four Small Towns Project generated two very exciting initiatives, in which Bakersville will be involved:

- A **leadership development grant** has been awarded by the Appalachian Regional Commission to help "train local teams to be their own town managers." Four of the participating small towns have no professional town manager, so the responsibility for implementing projects has typically fallen on individual volunteers' shoulders. This initiative will ensure that there is a local leadership base knowledgeable about all facets of project design, funding and implementation. Each town has chosen a major project they want to implement. Bakersville will expand its CreekWalk/greenway to include a new park and will acquire the historic (1907) courthouse from Mitchell County and renovate it, perhaps as a restaurant, overnight accommodation, craft gallery or museum.

- The **Blue Ridge Heritage Initiative** (BRHI) is a multi-state heritage tourism development project that will showcase the traditional music and agricultural and garden practices of the Blue Ridge Mountains, as well as the arts and cultural traditions of the Cherokee Nation. The small towns that have been involved in the Small Towns Project will integrate their downtown revitalization efforts with the thematic heritage tourism "trails" that will be developed through the BRHI. In essence, these small towns will become the "hub facilities" for heritage tourism and small business development, which will continue to strengthen their on-going downtown revitalization efforts.

Lessons for Community Planners

It is often difficult to pursue economic development while preserving

the cultural and natural resources of a community. However, as the process in Bakersville demonstrates, full community involvement results in creative solutions that have strong local support and commitment to implementation. Bakersville's success offers several lessons for development practitioners:

- **Rural residents are some of our mountains' most exceptional resources.** Families that have lived in rural communities for generations have an understanding and appreciation of the local culture and natural systems; such insights should be viewed as assets. This sense of stewardship has protected the natural resources over the years, with economic need (or greed, frequently from outside sources) often being the primary factor in actions leading to cultural and environmental degradation. People live in isolated areas because they like being there and have ties to the land—their home—that are hard to replicate.
- **Strong community involvement builds unmatched support for the project.** On January 7, 1998, Bakersville suffered severe setbacks when Cane Creek flooded, almost two feet higher than any previously recorded flood. Volunteer support to rebuild and restore the community has been extraordinary. Town leaders and residents are working to turn the challenge into an opportunity: when a mobile home park in the middle of town was condemned because of the flood, Bakersville leaders determined to restore the site and include it in the Cane Creek Greenway plan as a new community park. Funding is being secured for planning and site development, and local residents feel as though they have something positive to work toward in the aftermath of the flooding.
- **Natural, cultural and historic resources are inextricably linked.** The mountains have been home to many families for hundreds of years. Historic and cultural ties to the land are important in most rural communities and will be perpetuated if communities are involved in natural resource protection efforts and decisions.
- **Find out about the local culture.** Every community has its own special characteristics that distinguish it from other communities. Mountain communities are very different from coastal or piedmont communities and from each other. This "community character" is an asset and should be respected.
- **Spend time with local residents, listen to their concerns, and "put yourself in their shoes."** Conservationists frequently focus on the natural resource issues and overlook the underlying causes that lead to environmental degradation. More often than not, the real cause is economic need, or the need for jobs. On the other hand, planners often focus only on job development, overlooking the community's heritage and ties to the land. It is vitally important to spend time with local residents and listen to their needs and concerns.
- **Help identify economic alternatives that are compatible with natural and heritage resource protection.** The key to protecting rural resources is to develop new economies with jobs that are tied to protecting or restoring the heritage and natural resource base. This will build a local constituency that

supports conservation of the very resources that define the communities.

- **Help secure funding to implement culturally-appropriate and environmentally-friendly actions and programs.** The surest method to encourage sustainable development is to provide technical and financial assistance for implementation.
- **Above all, be patient.** Change does not come easily or quickly. The social and economic problems took many years to get to this point, and will take time to turn around. The positive community relationships and long-term benefits to the community, however, will be worth the investment of time and energy.

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Residential Segregation and Spatial Suicide: An Interview with George Galster

Chenicqua Williams and Patrick Duffy

Carolina Planning (*CP*): How do you define "forced residential segregation?"

George Galster (GG): Forced segregation is a residential pattern that is produced because of illegal activities in the housing market. There is a set of illegal activities that real estate agents and landlords promulgate that essentially foreclose housing choices to minority individuals, such as: misleading or lying about the availability of certain apartments; quoting higher prices than what are actually appropriate with an attempt to make somebody say "oh that's too expensive" and therefore not take it; steering by real estate agents whereby the kind of houses [people] are shown in the kind of neighborhoods they are shown is related to the race of the person being shown around by the agent (i.e., white people are shown houses in white neighborhoods only and minority persons minority neighborhoods only). Although we talk about all of these activities as typically denying minority home-seekers various housing choices, they also symmetrically deny white home-seekers housing choices. So steering, although you think of it as reducing the set of options for minorities, also reduces the set of options for majority home-seekers.

Another set of activities could be promulgated by neighbors or prospective neighbors where minority individuals might choose to live. Here I'm talking about acts of intimidation and harassment, which have frequently led to situations where minority home-seekers who have moved to the neighborhoods soon thereafter move out because it is such an uncomfortable place for themselves and their children to live. Other neighborhoods (white neighborhoods) which have gotten a reputation of being exclusionary, perhaps to the point of being violently exclusionary, don't have minority home-seekers looking in them anymore, because they know "why bother?" Even though you don't see the acts literally happening, the history and the expectation that acts will happen is sufficient to erect this exclusionary barrier around communities. In the Chicago area, Cicero was infamous for this for many years, in the Cleveland area it was Parma, and in the Detroit area it's Warren, which is a white suburb infamous for the reputation of being "sure, we're open to

George Galster is the Clarence Hilberry Professor of Urban Affairs at Wayne State University in Detroit. His recent books include *The Maze of Urban Housing Markets* (University of Chicago, 1991) and *Reality and Research: Social Science and American Urban Policy Since 1960* (Urban Institute Press, 1996). He has published over 70 articles, primarily on the topics of metropolitan housing markets, racial discrimination and segregation, neighborhood dynamics, residential reinvestment, community lending and insurance patterns and urban poverty.

This interview was conducted for *Carolina Planning* by Patrick Duffy and Chenicqua Williams at the Center for Urban and Regional Studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill on February 16, 1998.

people of all kinds, but if you are the wrong kind, look out." All of these kinds of acts are forbidden by federal law since 1968 and by many state and local laws, yet there is plenty of evidence that they still occur. As a group, these activities limit housing choices and thus make it more likely that minority home-seekers will end up living in neighborhoods that are predominantly minority-occupied already and that majority home-seekers will also end up in neighborhoods which are primarily majority-occupied. Remember, segregation is not just a phenomenon that refers to minority residences—it is symmetric, and in order to have one group segregated you need to have another segregated as well. So it is a white issue, not just a minority issue.

Thus, "forced residential segregation" is activities in the real estate market either promulgated by real estate professionals, neighbors, or home owners themselves that tend to deny opportunities to people that are different.

CP: What is the difference between "forced" and "self-segregation?" Are the differences real?

GG: First of all as background: when people are asked questions about who they would like to have as neighbors in public opinion polls, there are substantial majorities of most white folks who say they would prefer as their first choice a neighborhood that is overwhelmingly white, ten-percent or fewer non-white would be okay. Most Hispanic and Black households when asked the same question would choose approximately fifty-fifty racial or ethnic mix for their neighborhoods. There are substantial minorities of both Black and Hispanic respondents to these polls who say, however, that they would prefer as their first choice an overwhelmingly Black or Hispanic neighborhood and some folks have said "those folks clearly want to segregate just like many whites clearly want to segregate." Without putting any value judgments on it, people would say that the polls show that self-segregation, presumably voluntary, is what people want and if you're a free-marketer of course you say you let people's preferences rule. Why should government or anyone else be concerned that this isn't just a harmless expression of what people want to do. Some people want to live in a neighborhood that has parks, other people don't, and we don't care about that—why should we care who people want to live with?

Okay, there's the straw man argument. My first reaction is that those public opinion polls just described are conditioned by the generations of racism and racist ideology to which I've just alluded. So, from a white perspective, when they express any dislike for racially mixed environments, that expression is conditioned by a recent history that they or their parents may have experienced. This is a history that tells them that any mixing is a prelude to complete racial transition of the neighborhood and probably to physical decay. For these people or their parents growing up in the 1930s to the 1950s, let's say in major metro areas, it was a world in which there was intentional, officially sanctioned ghettoization of minority populations, where in the realtor codes it was professional behavior to steer and to exclude minorities. It wasn't just "not bad," it was the desired behavior—"you should do this" because it was official policy that race mixing is bad. Race mixing hurts property values, so it's unprofessional.

Similarly, government policy was explicitly segregationist. You couldn't get a VA loan if your house was in a racially mixed neighborhood after World War II because a VA loan said "we only are going to underwrite sound loans" and loans in racially mixed neighborhoods are not considered sound, because property values will go down in these neighborhoods as a result of race mixing. Self-fulfilling prophecies are running rampant here. Official private and government policy was segregationist in the era when our parents' grandparents were doing their thing.

Yet it was also a period of mass migrations, especially of Black people moving from the south to northern industrial areas. There was a growing Black population and they had to get housed somewhere. You could only overcrowd folks so much, and then you eventually had to spread the size of the Black community beyond its earlier borders. Unscrupulous agents called "blockbusters" were the vehicles for that expansion. Using scare tactics they would indeed turn over blocks from all-white to all-Black occupancy in sometimes a matter of months.

Thus, for all the general white population could see, it was inevitable that when that first Black person was allowed in, that would be it. The neighborhood would tip to all Black occupancy in a short period of time, and because it was associated with the tremendous overcrowding of the residential areas that Blacks occupied, the denial of mortgage funds, as well as under-maintenance of buildings by landlords, the neighborhood did go downhill after it became incorporated into the ghetto. It wasn't just an unsupported stereotype, it generally was a low-quality residential sub-market. From the white population's perspective, there was a rational reason to believe that you didn't want to have Black neighbors. But it was conditioned by an era of American housing markets where segregation and discrimination were running rampant. That is not at all a necessary condition of the world, and it is certainly not the current condition of the world, although there are still a lot of vestiges of that. Thankfully, it is not nearly the way it was in the 1940s and 1950s.

From the Black population's standpoint, when they said "yes, I have a desire to live in a predominantly minority neighborhood," that was conditioned by what it would mean to be in a diverse neighborhood, or to be "the pioneer," the first Black person into an otherwise all-white neighborhood. Conditioned by their experiences or their parents' or neighbors' experiences, from whom they heard "my god, they (whites) have painted graffiti on my house, they've burned crosses on my lawn, or they at least made it incredibly uncomfortable for me to live in this neighborhood," they thought "why would I want to put myself or my children through that?" So, sure, it's a preference, but again, it's a conditioned preference—conditioned by this whole history of harassment and racial intimidation and discrimination.

These preferences are coming from the historical momentum of racism. If we were able to change that historical momentum, preferences would change, too.

To summarize, when people talk about voluntary segregation and just letting people's preferences act out, I say that is a very shallow and misleading interpretation of these preferences and where those preferences are coming from.

The conventional wisdom that it is "natural" for people in different racial and ethnic groups to live separate is very damaging because there is nothing "natural" or biologically pre-determined about that at all. As we know, race and ethnicity are predominantly cultural-social constructs; what we make of that is something that we have devised. (When I say "we", I typically mean white males in positions of power.) One of my long-standing motives for doing so much research in this area of race has been to figure out ways how we can unlearn these unjust social constructions.

CP: Do you see any problems with the notion of "voluntary" or "self- segregation"?

GG: My worry about so-called "voluntary" segregation is that it in fact retards our ability to eliminate racism in this society because segregation is the linchpin for reinforcing racial

stereotypes in today's society. I think segregation reinforces racial stereotypes through both a direct and indirect way. The direct way is that when different groups live apart all sorts of images and stereotypes get created but don't often get challenged by the truth. Media stereotypes about the life of the ghetto, for example, and the media portrayal of the young male Black criminal, and other kinds of portrayals of what Black neighborhoods must all be like get into white people's heads, and because they have never experienced a Black neighborhood, they don't know anything different. So separation means that there is going to be a limited flow of information about what life is really like. Thus, old stereotypes, or new distorted media stereotypes, become the reality that people see about the other community, and this is not a very positive perception.

This is a more powerful argument, to say that a lot of these stereotypes are not pure myth, but that we've set up a spatial structure that creates some reality to reinforce these stereotypes.

Indirectly, segregation, at least in Northern American cities, typically means that most minority residents live in more limited political jurisdictions compared to most white residents. To put it crudely, most minorities are confined to the city of Detroit, the city of Chicago, and a couple of suburbs in the Chicago area, but most of them are majority Black suburbs now, whereas whites have a whole bunch of different municipalities. Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, the tax and financial resources of Black jurisdictions are usually much less than those of white jurisdictions, which means that minority jurisdictions systematically can't provide things like public education, good quality police protection, health services, libraries, the whole public service package, as well as white communities. What does that in turn lead to? In the case of public education it leads to less chance of minority kids coming out of their school systems to get the kind of training that allows them to get the kind of economic success that white students are going to get with access to better education. You get not just perceptions, but sometimes the reality of higher crime in minority communities than in white communities, a somewhat trashier environment, trees don't get planted [and] beautification programs go by the wayside, because they don't have the money to do it. Thus, these communities don't look physically as nice as the white communities. All of these things reinforce white stereotypes like "Blacks just don't take care of their neighborhoods, they're just trashy people" and so on.

While it is frequently the media stereotypes that allow the myths of these communities to be perpetuated, the process I just described is not totally mythical. That is to say there really are inferior schools, services, and so on in minority jurisdictions, because of the way that we have structured our space. This is a more powerful argument, to say that a lot of these stereotypes are not pure myth, but that we've set up a spatial structure that creates some reality to reinforce these stereotypes. It's a classic self-fulfilling prophecy, which in simple terms gets set up like this: we think that minority folks are inferior and we want to keep them out of our neighborhood and our political jurisdiction. Therefore, we adopt a variety of practices that segregates them into certain parts of our metro area, thereby creating circumstances where the likelihood is they will stay economically inferior to us and manifest a variety of behaviors that will reinforce the original stereotypes.

CP: It is often argued that what is missing in distressed and segregated communities is a bridge to the mainstream. What does this

sentiment mean to you, and how might you characterize it?

GG: I think that is a dimension of segregation that I mentioned earlier, that makes it difficult to reach equal opportunity in today's society, or makes it less likely that minority individuals can achieve the same level of economic and social status as majority individuals. Segregation allows for the formation of distinct sub-cultures, and in certain very deprived, concentrated-poverty minority communities, there have been plenty of studies to suggest that this distinctive sub-culture is defined by opposition to mainstream cultural values.

For example, to perform well in school is to act white. William Julius Wilson and other social critics have talked about how this oppositional culture is functional in this little social world that is the poverty ghetto at the heart of some of our cities today. For example, we understand why young people act this way, why these displays of machismo are so important for young Black men, and why having a child is so important for young Black girls, regardless of the implications. Perhaps without realizing it, these behaviors, because they are so in opposition to mainstream values, render these folks virtually unemployable in the mainstream society and shut off most of their avenues of economic advancement through traditional and legal ways. This is what we are dealing with in many of our inner cities today. It's the extreme of what happens when racial segregation is conjoined with concentrated poverty. Again, this is a combination of race and class segregation.

CP: What about class integration versus racial integration?

GG: I go around in my head on that question very frequently, and let me just tell you why I can't decide.

Let's talk about racial integration distinct from class integration. To put it differently, should we encourage middle class whites and middle class Blacks to live together? On the one hand, it is probably not necessary from the perspective of either group because they are both probably going to make it just fine and their kids are probably going to make it just fine whether they are integrated or not. However, in as much as many whites in different realms of their life, especially in their workplace and voting behavior, still have a variety of racist stereotypes, it probably would be a societal good if these stereotypes held by middle class whites could be eroded. Social science has shown that the most effective way to erode racial stereotypes is through equal status residential contact. The idea behind equal status is that when people are in the same economic class and when they live together for sustained periods, racial stereotypes fall away. I think it would be to the greater good of society to encourage integration and it would help reduce racial stereotypes, which would not only benefit middle class Blacks, but all Black folks. So, on that round I'd say, yes it would be nice to have pure racial integration wherever possible.

There is a caveat or complication, however. All of these nice benefits of reducing stereotypes were premised on equal status contact. If you were to mix lower class Blacks with middle class whites, it's not all clear that you would get social goods, you might in fact get social bads, reinforcing white stereotypes. This is a major dilemma current housing policies face with scatter site public housing, section 8 certificates, dispersal programs, and so on.

Class integration, on the other hand, I think is absolutely crucial. I think that there has to be a way for society to convince itself that to concentrate, especially lower income poor individuals, together in such critical masses as we have now in many of our city centers, creates so many more social problems than we would have if those folks were not as spatially concentrated. That is the real crucial issue. We have to get a reduction in class segregation, but it is most important to not just mix middle class

with upper class, but to mix lower class (economic) folks with any upper classes. Traditionally it has been the working poor who have borne the brunt of that kind of mixing, but that's not fair either. It really should be mixing throughout the class spectrum if possible. Now that is an incredibly complex policy issue that planners and policy makers must face. I don't pretend to have the magic bullet on that one.

CP: Based on current or past housing policies such as Section 8 and subsidies and the effect these policies have on all submarkets as you discuss in *The Maze of Urban Housing Markets*, which direction would you advocate for housing policies?

GG: I think that in order to achieve this deconcentration of the poorest of the poor, housing policy needs to achieve two things simultaneously. First, it is necessary to open up areas of the metro region (primarily in the suburbs) that are now closed to low-income people because of exclusionary zoning policies and other kinds of institutional barriers. Secondly, center city areas should be redeveloped with housing that is class diverse.

In terms of opening up options for low-income people in neighborhoods where they currently do not live, we need statewide initiatives that have in the past gone under the rubric of fair share housing (i.e., each jurisdiction has the affirmative obligation to provide its proportion of the housing stock for people with different incomes). It is critical that this is a state initiative because no municipality is going to take it on its own shoulders to do that without massive coordination with every other municipality.

When I say fair share, I don't necessarily mean building an apartment building that is set aside for low-income people. While this approach improves the class diversity of the whole municipality, it creates its own mini ghetto. This has the potential of maintaining the subcultural system, and perpetuating external stigmatisms, such as people saying, "oh, that's where they live," or "you come from that apartment building, Johnny." What we want to have in this sub-environment is a mixture down to the building level or neighborhood level. This can be done by building a mixed income development, where X number of units in an apartment complex are set aside for people of low income. There is a history of federal set aside housing policy, which requires a certain fraction of set asides for low income residents.

Clearly, rental apartment buildings offer the possibility for low-income occupancy through the Section 8 program, if the landlord can be recruited to participate in the Section 8 program. We have to be careful here because some landlords have turned into Section 8 slumlords. They have turned entire buildings into Section 8 occupancy, which creates a little mini ghetto that I think is an undesirable thing. We not only have to recruit to get some Section 8 certificates, but also to prevent buildings from becoming completely Section 8 occupancy. In a nutshell, that is what I think has to happen on the suburban side of things.

But you can't just think politically about emptying out the center cities into the suburbs. It's not only not politically viable from a suburban perspective; it is not viable from the center city perspective either. There are center city politicians that need voters and, in addition, there is the whole racial politics thing. I think you have to talk about simultaneously encouraging redevelopment of center city neighborhoods in conjunction with more suburban opportunities. In many Detroit neighborhoods, for example, there is plenty of vacant space. As the city has depopulated over the years, lots of vacant land has been left, so the question is what kind of redevelopment is going to happen on it. So far, the only kind of redevelopment has been to clear a site and rebuild an entire suburban-looking subdivision with no diversity whatsoever, unless the developer wants to make it from a $110,000 to $160,000 price range. That's the diversity you

get without having set-asides for low-income people.

Some housing authorities have done redevelopment with large, urban renewal style apartment complexes, which have included set-asides for class diversity. When private developers do their thing, unless there is encouragement or restrictions on what they can do, they tend to go pretty homogeneous in the class they are targeting for that new development. Private developers have to be discouraged from creating homogeneous development, so that the new neighborhoods that are being created in the center city are class diverse.

Now, I am not only talking about clearing the land and building all new stuff, but also many inner cities are confronted with gentrification which tends to recreate class-homogeneous situations. In those circumstances, non-profits can be very helpful in getting some of the buildings and holding them for affordable housing, even though the neighborhood around it is becoming quite gentrified. This is a way to preserve some of the original residents and maintain some diversity. I don't believe gentrification should be stopped, but complete displacement of existing residents needs to be avoided. So it is an "in and out" strategy like in basketball: you have the inside game in the center city and the outside game in the suburbs and you have to have both to have a really good team.

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CP: Portland, Oregon, is often viewed as a model with its mix of downtown housing stock. Would you agree with that, or can you think of a city that has done a better job?

GG: In terms of mixing the downtown or its core neighborhoods, I think Portland has done a very good job. I don't think I can come up with a better example. In terms of doing the outside game well, it is Minneapolis-St. Paul. They have formed a political coalition between the center city and the inner ring suburbs around the downtown. They have found it in their common interest to encourage fair-share housing on the part of the suburbs farther out, the exurbs. The inner ring suburbs are starting to see the same problems that have traditionally been associated with the center city. The center city and the inner ring suburbs are already independently providing more than their proportional share of affordable housing, and by adopting a fair share housing policy, the exurbs will be forced to provide their proportional share of housing, and to share in the burden of providing housing. By joining forces, the center city and the inner ring suburbs were able through the state legislature to vote in a plan that would essentially put the burden where it should be—that is, on the wealthier exurbs.

CP: As a matter of both philosophy and method, how much credence do you give to the idea of "asset building" where the focus is placed on the positives rather than on the problems afflicting a community?

GG: I think that it all depends on the ultimate purpose that you are trying to achieve. I am not sure I can generally say that the approach does or does not make sense, unless we talked about a particular goal that this means was trying to achieve.

CP: Do you think in practice, methodology, and spirit, the asset building approach gives you a better angle?

GG: If you are trying to organize a given community politically, we know that often the rallying point is a negative one. We are out to stop this, fix this, or improve this. In that sense, emphasizing the positive is not good for rallying the troops. You need a threat, a bad thing, an evil that we can all join together to fight. Doing that eventually has to get to the positive. What resources do we have to fight this thing? So I am not sure we can divorce it in that sense.

If our goal is to improve human and social capital in a neighborhood, you absolutely have to do the positive. Human nature is not going to respond very well if you say, "Well you have diddly here, we have to fix all those terrible things wrong with you and your community." I am trivializing it, but I think you can imagine that one has to take a much more encouraging, build-from-strength kind of approach.

Similarly, if we are trying to do economic development and we believe that the major problem is that this community is not receiving its reasonable share of resources, then we have to look to see if there is there some kind of market failure or information failure that has prevented the world from knowing about us [the community]. The world has passed us by and because of stereotypes or what have you, it has not taken a second look. If this is the case, then you have to go with the positive, of course. Wave the flag and say we have got some great resources that you, the market would love to invest in. These can be human, locational, or whatever resources. You definitely want to go with the positive. I have a hard time with community development defined in very circumscribed geographic terms. I don't believe in bootstrapping in that sense. I think that one has to understand the role of this place in the larger system in order to help the place do better.

We have designed our cities in ways such that certain places are going to get starved of resources. Concentrated poverty neighborhoods are those places. So to talk about the strength of the community is a little like whistling in the wind. We have been strangling them for generations, and [we] did not talk about how that ultimate negative works. That big system that's screwing these systems over did not talk about that negative and work toward changing that negative. I think that we spend a lot of time wheel spinning. So that's why it's a hard question for me.

CP: Explain your phrase "Spatial Suicide."

GG: Suicide for a person is the ultimate self-negation. From a metro perspective, what would be the ultimate metropolitan self-negation? It would be structuring itself in such a way that many of its citizens are rationally induced to become less productive, less cooperative, and more threatening to each other. That's what we're doing. That's it in a nutshell.

CP: So that is in part the "collective irrationalities."

GG: Yes. Why that happens? Why we design space in this way? What we see as our own personal best interest is what we choose to do. When everybody else does it, it becomes collectively not in our best interest, but in our worst interest.

call for papers

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